DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 132 499 95 CG 011 298

AUTHOR Harway, Michele; And Others
TITLE Sex Discrimination in Guidance and Counseling. Report (Volume 1).
INSTITUTION Higher Education Research Inst., Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY National Center for Education Statistics (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Feb 76
CONTRACT 300-75-0207
NOTE 325p.; For related documents, see CG 011 299 and CG 011 341, HE 008 584 and HE 008 684, and EA 009 103-104

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$16.73 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Counselor Acceptance; Counselor Characteristics; Counselor Training; Guidance Counseling; *Occupational Guidance; Research Projects; Secondary Education; *Sex Discrimination; *Sex Stereotypes; Test Bias; *Vocational Counseling; *Womens Studies

ABSTRACT

This report reviews sex discrimination in guidance and counseling in secondary and post secondary education. The primary focus of the study is vocational guidance and counseling. Personal social counseling and mental health are examined briefly. The discussion is based on an extensive literature review, a re-analysis of existing data, and exploratory studies in the Los Angeles high schools. The following topics are discussed at length in chapters: an overview of the effects of the educational system and society on the student; counselor training and the composition of the counseling profession; the effects of role and sex on counseling and counselor attitudes; a review of counseling instruments and materials, counseling and guidance theories and counseling outcomes in terms of sex discrimination. The last chapter ties together data from preceding sections to present preliminary conclusions and implications for four groups: legislators, researchers, institutions, and counselors. There are also 41 tables taken from statistical reports including Project TALENT, census data, the Cooperative Institutional Research Program, the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, and the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. (Author/MPJ)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED132499

This report was prepared under contract no. 300-75-0207 with the Education Division. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgement. This report, therefore, does not necessarily represent positions or policies of the Education Division, and no official endorsement should be inferred.

National Center for Education Statistics
Education Division
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

February 1976

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Report (Volume I)

by

Michele Harway

Helen S. Astin

Jeanne M. Suhr

John M. Whiteley

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Michele Harway is a research psychologist with the Higher Education Research Institute, Los Angeles, California.

Helen S. Astin is vice-president of the Higher Education Research Institute and professor of higher education, University of California at Los Angeles.

Jeanne M. Suhr is a research analyst at the Higher Education Research Institute, Los Angeles, California.

John M. Whiteley is dean of students and associate professor of social ecology at the University of California, Irvine.

CG 011298

Acknowledgements

This study had the support, advice, and assistance of many persons.

We would like to acknowledge the work of C. E. Christian and Patricia P. McNamara, research analysts at the Higher Education Research Institute. Ms. Christian conducted the exploratory survey in the Los Angeles metropolitan area high schools and analyzed the data. Ms. McNamara, coauthor of Sex Discrimination in Access to Postsecondary Education, worked closely with us on many overlapping aspects of the two reports.

Three consultants provided expertise on different aspects of the study. Lorenza Schmidt and Marguerite Archie were most helpful in sensitizing us to issues of minorities. Wendy Williams, a lawyer with Equal Rights Advocates, a public interest law firm, helped us examine findings in the context of recent legislation. Two other consultants contributed substantially to portions of the report. Rita M. Whiteley and Arthur J. Lange were responsible for the section on assertion training. Moreover, Rita M. Whiteley coauthored portions of the chapter on sex bias in counseling theories. She also contributed sections on feminist counseling and outcomes.

Lewis C. Solmon and Alexander W. Astin read the manuscript, offering numerous insights and suggestions.

We would like to thank Valerie Kesler, Kathleen Kaufman, and Mary Ruth Swint, who typed and retyped the many drafts. Beverly T. Watkins edited the entire manuscript.

Most of all, we would like to thank the project monitor, Shirley Radcliffe, and the Advisory Panel, and the National Center for Education Statistics for their guidance and support.

The Authors

February, 1976

List of Tables

Page

1. Number of time 1960 high school students discussed post-high-school plans with different persons, by sex: United States, 1960 . . 49

2. Number of times 1960 high school students discussed concerns with teachers, principals and counseling during current year, by sex: United States, 1960 50

3. Persons reported having very important influence on the choice of high school programs by 1972 high school seniors, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972 51

4. Persons reported having very important influence on 1972 high school seniors' plans for after high school, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972 52

5. Frequent discussion of plans for after high school by 1972 high school seniors with other individuals, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972 53

6. Type of influence 1972 high school seniors felt teachers or counselors had ever tried to exert on their post-high-school plans, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972 54

7. Highest level of education 1972 high school seniors plan to attain, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972 80

8. Type of college 1972 high school seniors plan to attend, by sex, ethnic category and father's education: United States, 1972 81

9. Highest level of educational attainment planned by 1972 high school seniors, by sex, ethnic category, and father's education: United States, 1972 82

10. Degree aspirations of black high school seniors, by sex: United States, 1971 and 1974. 83

11. Degree aspirations of entering college freshmen: Trends over time, by sex: United States, 1966, 1970 and 1974. 84

12. Degree aspirations of black freshmen entering college, by sex: United States, 1968 and 1971 85

13. Degree aspirations of entering college freshmen women, by age group: United States, 1974 86

14. Career aspirations of entering college freshmen: Trends over time, by sex: United States, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972 and 1974. 87

15. Probable career choice of black high school seniors, by sex: United States, 1971 and 1974 88

Page

16. Career aspirations of black freshmen entering college by sex: United States, 1968 and 1971 89

17. Career aspirations of entering college freshmen women, by age group: United States, 1974 90

18. Views of 1972 high school seniors who 'agree strongly' or 'agree' with the following statements about themselves of life, by sex: United States, 1972 91

19. Very important life goals of 1972 high school seniors, by sex: United States, 1972 92

20. Above average self-ratings of entering college freshmen, by sex: United States, 1966, 1972 and 1974 93

21. Above average self-ratings of black freshmen entering college, by sex: United States, 1971 94

22. Person 1971 black high school senior indicated they would most like to be, by sex: United States, 1971 95

23. Above average self-ratings of entering college freshmen women, by age group: United States, 1974 96

24. Essential or very important life goals of entering college freshmen, by sex: United States, 1974 97

25. Essential or very important life goals of black freshmen entering college, by sex: United States, 1968 and 1971 98

26. Essential or very important life goals of college freshmen women, by age group: United States, 1974 99

27. Membership of professional guidance associations, by sex and ethnic category, United States, 1975 116

28. A content analysis of sex and race representation in career guidance materials: United States, 1975 150

29. Content analysis of illustrations by sex in the Enclyclopedia of Careers and Vocational Guidance: United States, 1975 151

30. A content analysis of illustrations in the Occupational Outlook Handbook, 1974-75, by sex: United States, 1975 152

31. A content analysis of institutional catalogs: United States, 1975 . . 153

32. Self-statements that impede effective assertion by women: United States, 1975 197

33. Responses of 1972 high school seniors who 'agree strongly' or 'agree' that their school provides the following assistance, by sex and by ethnic category: United States, 1972 216

Page

34. Responses of 1972 high school seniors to the question: "Do you feel that you can usually get to see a guidance counselor when you want to or need to?", by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972 217

35. Responses of 1972 high school seniors to the question: "Does your guidance counselor usually have the information you feel you need?", by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972. 218

36. Opinions of 1972 high school seniors on the following services of their school, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972. 219

37. Obstacles to participation in continuing education programs cited by women currently enrolled: United States, 1974 253

38. Obstacles to participation in continuing education programs cited by participating women, by race: United States, 1974 254

39. Obstacles to participation in continuing education programs cited by participating women, by age: United States, 1974. 255

40. Obstacles to participation in continuing education programs cited by participating women, by marital status: United States, 1974. 256

41. Financial concerns of continuing education participants enrolled in degree programs: United States, 1974 257

CONTENTS

Page

Acknowledgments i

List of Tables ii

Chapter 1, Introduction 1

- Definition of guidance and counseling 2
- Role of the counselor 4
- Definition of prejudice, discrimination and equal opportunity. . 5
- Concept of the study 9
- Data and time constraints 14
- Method and procedures 15
  - Literature search 15
  - Data sources 16
  - Exploratory studies 18

Chapter 2, Early socialization and the role of significant others 22

- Behavioral and psychological impact of socialization 23
- Agents of early socialization and their impact 27
- The role of significant others on post high school plans 36
  - The teacher 37
  - The counselor 39
  - The parent 39
  - Student perceptions of interactions 40
    - Project TALENT 40
    - National Longitudinal Study. 41
    - Exploratory Studies 43
- Summary. 45
- Implications for guidance and counseling 47

Chapter 3, The role of self-concept, achievement motivation and student attitudes 55

- Achievement motivation 56
  - Theory 56
  - Socialization 57
  - Differential aspirations 59
  - Attribution theory 63
- Self-concept 64
  - Goals among high school students 66
  - Goals among college students 66

Page

Students' attitudes 69
    Differential sex-role perceptions 69
    Women's perceptions of men's beliefs 71
    Attitudes towards professional competency 73
    Vocational preferences 75

Summary. 76

Implications for guidance and counseling 78

Chapter 4, Counselors, their trainers and their training 100

Counseling faculty 100

Training 102
    Textbooks 102
    Curriculum 106
    Degree requirements 107

Certification. 108
Practicioners in counseling 109

Summary. 112

Implications for guidance and counseling 114

Chapter 5, Counselor characteristics and attitudes. 117

Race and sex 117

Counselor attitudes. 121

Summary. 124

Implications for Guidance and Counseling 124

Chapter 6, Counseling Materials 126

Tests and instruments .126

Interest inventories 128
    Strong Vocational Interest Blank. 128
    Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory. 133
    Kuder Occupational Interest Survey. 134
    Holland's Self-Directed Search. 136

Suggested Guidelines 137

Other counseling materials 139

Institutional catalogs .144

Summary 148

Implications for guidance and counseling 149

Page

Chapter 7, Development of guidance theory 158
  Early writings (1930-1950) 158
  Organization and administration texts (1950-1965). 161
  General introductory textbooks (1950-1970) 165
  Books of readings (1960-1975) 166
  Developing a viable guidance theory 167
  Legacy of sex discrimination 169
  Summary. 176
  Implications for guidance and counseling 177

Chapter 8, Sex bias in counseling theories 178
  Sources of sex bias. 178
  Feminist extensions in counseling 180
    Transactional Analysis 180
    Rational Emotive therapy 183
  Reducing sex bias 186
  Vocational development theories 187
    General career development theories 188
    Career development for women 190
      Zytowski's theory of career development for women. 190
      Psathas' theory of occupational choice for women 191
  Summary. 192
  Implications for guidance and counseling 193

Chapter 9, Results of counseling 198
  Student reports. 199
    High school students. 199
    College students. 202
  Counselor and institutional studies of impact. 203
    High school counseling. 203
    College-level counseling. 208
  Counseling outcomes. 210
  Summary. 213
  Implications for guidance and counseling 214

Page

Chapter 10, Alternatives to traditional counseling . . . 220

- Sex-fair counseling . . . 220
  - Task forces on sexism in the schools . . . 220
  - Guidance-related professional associations . . . 222
- Counseling for junior and senior high school students . . . 223
  - Nonsexist curricula guides . . . 224
  - Counseling intervention . . . 225
- In-service training for nonsexist counseling . . . 229
  - Programs and workshops . . . 230
  - Workshops on new careers . . . 231
  - University extension . . . 231
  - Handbook and guides . . . 232
- Counseling alternatives for women . . . 233
  - Assertion training . . . 233
    - Cognitive behavior modification . . . 235
  - Feminist counseling . . . 240
    - Developmental psychology of women . . . 240
    - Remediation of negative socialization . . . 241
    - Reformulation of counseling problems . . . 241
  - Counseling for returning adult women . . . 244
    - Obstacles . . . 244
    - Continuing Education Program for women . . . 247
- Summary . . . 250
- Implications for guidance and counseling . . . 251

Chapter 11, Implications and recommendations . . . 258

- Socialization . . . 258
- Achievement motivation, self-concept and sex-role attitudes . . . 260
- Counselor trainers, training and certification . . . 261
- Effects of counselor characteristics . . . 263
- Counseling materials . . . 264
- Guidance and counseling theories . . . 265
- Results of counseling . . . 265
- Alternatives to traditional counseling . . . 266
- Additional research recommendations . . . 267
- Legislative recommendations . . . 269

Appendices

Page

A. The Authorizing Legislation 272
B. Sample of Schools from the CIRP 276
C. Analysis of Catalogs 282
D. Sample of Counselor Training Programs 288

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974, which constitutes Section 408 of Education Amendments of 1972 (see appendix A), proposes to provide educational equity for women in the United States. Section 408 (f) (4) states:

> From the sums available for the purposes of this section, the Commissioner is authorized and directed to conduct a national, comprehensive review of sex discrimination in education, to be submitted to the Council not later than a year after the date of enactment of this section. The Council shall review the report of the Commissioner and shall make recommendations, including recommendations for additional legislation, as it deems advisable.

This report reviews sex discrimination in counseling and guidance in secondary and postsecondary education. Following a review of existing research and literature and a critical discussion of the state of knowledge in this area, the report presents implications for policy and modes to implement needed changes.

The primary focus of this study is vocational guidance and counseling. Personal-social counseling and mental health are examined briefly.

Six hypotheses were formulated in the original design for the study to reflect the areas of inquiry vital to sex discrimination in guidance and counseling:

1. Socialization, which plays an important role in shaping the education and career decisions of young people, reflects the sex-role biases of the surrounding society.

2. The counselor training field reflects the biases and sex-role stereotypes of the larger society.

3. Counselor trainers and training rationales may reinforce existing biases or produce attitudes and values that interfere with equitable counseling practices.

4. Tests (personality, interest) and other source materials used to assess clients and assist them with their educational, vocational, and personal decisions reflect sex-role biases.

5. Negative outcomes of counseling are reflected in students' educational and career decisions which indicate acceptance of sex-role stereotypes.

6. Existing counseling programs can be freed of sex biases through implementing new approaches in counselor training and procedures.

This introduction presents the framework within which the body of the report can be understood. The meaning and scope of the terms "guidance" and "counseling" are presented. The multifaceted role of the counselor is highlighted to indicate the many ways in which counselors may interact with and influence students. Sex discrimination is defined as it relates to education, especially guidance and counseling services. After setting the parameters of the study, an overview of each chapter highlights the major findings. Methods and procedures used in the literature review, in reanalysis of existing data, and in exploratory studies are explained.

DEFINITIONS OF GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Guidance, as defined by Shertzer and Stone (1971), "is the process of helping an individual to understand himself and his world." Its purpose, according to Rogers (as cited by Shertzer & Stone), is "to enhance the personal development, the psychological growth toward a socialized maturity, of its clients" (p. 41).

Four major services compose a school's guidance program (Shertzer & Stone, 1971):

1. An appraisal service to collect objectives and subjective data about

the student.

2. An informational service to give students information about vocational, educational, and personal opportunities.

3. A counseling service to facilitate students' self-understanding and development through dyadic or small-group relationships.

4. A planning, placement, and follow-up service to help the student locate job opportunities.

When described in this fashion, "counseling" is subsumed under the larger term "guidance" and is one of several guidance services. However, for most people, including many counselors, the distinctions between the terms are unclear, especially since the definitions are general and similar. Counseling is defined by Gustad (1953) as "a learning-oriented process...in which a counselor...seeks to assist the client...to learn more about himself, to learn how to put such understanding into effect in relation to more clearly perceived, realistically defined goals to the end that the client may become a happier and more productive member of this society" (p. 17). Since counseling is the heart of the guidance program, it is emphasized throughout the report.

Similarly, the title "counselor" has been used rather indiscriminately by individuals engaged in a wide variety of tasks. Shertzer and Stone (1971) estimate that in 1965 there were some 50,000 officially recognized counselors in various settings in the United States. About 40,000 of these were in educational institutions. Wrenn (1968) describes the counselor's function as:

> a) to provide a relationship between counselor and counselee, the most prominent quality of which is that of mutual trust of each in the other; b) to provide alternatives in self-understanding and in the courses of action open to the client; c) to provide for some degree of intervention with the situation in which the client finds himself and with important others[1] in the

---

[1] "Important others" and "significant others" are psychological terms that refer to individuals who have an influence on the life of a person. This report, when not quoting directly, uses "significant others" throughout.

> client's immediate life; and, finally, d) to provide for improvement of the counseling process through constant individual self-criticism and (for some counselors) extensive attention to improvement of process through research (p. 237).

Throughout the report, the terms "counselor" and "guidance counselor," and "counseling" and "guidance" are used interchangeably to reflect the common usage.

ROLE OF THE COUNSELOR

The counselor at the secondary level has somewhat different functions than at the postsecondary level. The major functions of the secondary counselor below are from a policy statement of the American School Counselors Association (part of the American Personnel and Guidance Association):

1. Planning and development of the guidance program. An effective guidance program results from cooperative effort of the entire staff in planning and development. Parents, pupils, and community agencies and organizations can also contribute. The objectives of the program and the procedures for meeting those objectives must be clearly formulated.

2. Counseling. The majority of a school counselor's time must be devoted to individual or small-group counseling.

3. Pupil appraisal. The counselor assumes the roles of leader and consultant in the school's program of pupil appraisal.

4. Educational and occupational planning. The counselor tries to provide pupils and parents with an understanding of the pupil as an individual in relation to educational and occupational opportunities for his/her optimal growth and development and to promote self-direction.

5. Referral work. The counselor is the principal person on the staff who makes and coordinates referrals both to other specialists in pupil personnel services and to public and private community agencies.

6. Placement. The counselor's role in providing placement services

for individual pupils involves assisting them in making transitions from one school level to another, one school to another, and from school to employment. Placement involves the informational services of educational and occupational planning, pupil appraisal, and counseling assistance appropriate to the pupil's choices and progress in school subjects, extracurricular and community activities, and employment.

7. *Parent help*. The counselor holds conferences with parents and acts as a resource person on the growth and development of their children.

8. *Staff consulting*. The school counselor works closely with members of the administrative and teaching staff so all resources are directed toward the needs of pupils.

9. *Local research*. Research in guidance is concerned with the study of pupil needs and how well school services and activities are meeting those needs. The counselor plays a leadership role in determining the need for research, conducting or cooperating in studies, and interpreting findings to the staff.

10. *Public relations*. The counselor is responsible for interpreting school counseling and guidance services to the staff, parents, and community. All efforts at giving service to individuals in the guidance and counseling program have potential value in public relations.

The counselor at the postsecondary level is usually free of administrative and public relations duties. The major function of the counselor in universities is to provide, one to one or in a group, assistance to students in attaining a clear sense of identity. Usually this consists of counseling for educational or vocational conflicts and personal-social dilemmas.

DEFINITIONS OF PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION, AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Since the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974 explicitly provides for educational equity for women in the United States, this study is designed to ascertain whether discriminatory practices exist and result in inequity in counseling: if there is inequity, what its magnitude is; and how such inequity is brought about. The study examines the effects of discrimination and inequity on secondary and postsecondary counseling.

One objective of counseling is to expose students to all the possible goals for which they may strive. Conversely, sex bias in counseling is "that condition or provision which influences a person to limit his or her considerations of career opportunities solely on the basis of that person's sex" (AMEG Commission, 1973). Expanding the definition, sex bias in counseling is any condition under which a client's options are limited by the counselor solely because of gender. That would include limiting expression of certain kinds of behavior because they have not traditionally been appropriate for one sex. Sex bias in counseling may be overt: for example, suggesting that a female high school student not enroll in a math class because "women aren't good in math," thereby limiting her later options to enter scientific or professional careers. Or it may be covert: subtle expectations or attitudes that "girls always are" certain stereotypic characteristics.

Every person should have the educational opportunity to develop and use fully his/her talents and assets. "Talents," means not only those acquired at birth, but also those developed in the school years. Even though this study looks at equity in secondary and postsecondary counseling, inequities can begin at birth and continue through life because of differential treatment at home, in school, and in society at large. Thus, even if equal counseling treatment were provided to high school students independent of sex, one could expect different outcomes because of different treatments and experiences previously. It seems obvious, then, that equal treatment of people with different experiences would result in different opportunities for men and women. Rather than equal treatment for all, equity for members of each sex will probably require differential treatment by sex. While the counselor's role has traditionally been to explore options with students, passively, counselors will need to encourage women actively to seek nontraditional careers because their socialization may result in their considering only the most traditional. Counselors will have to make special efforts to ensure that young women become all that they can be rather than develop along stereotypical lines. Following this line of reasoning, equity should be achieved using affirmative action, not just a passive approval or disapproval of a student's choice, but an active affirmative step toward enhancing the student's perceived options.

It is usually argued that equity will be achieved when there is no discrimination and prejudice. To discriminate is defined in Webster's Collegiate as a) to mark or perceive the distinguishing or peculiar features of, and b) to make a difference in treatment or favor on a basis other than individual merit. In a world of scarce resources where excess demands require rationing, allocations are generally made according to some peculiar features of individuals or groups who exhibit effective demand--hence, type-one discrimination. These actions would be acceptable if it could be agreed that the perceived differences among individuals do exist and that the characteristics upon which the distribution was made are logical and just measures upon which to base this type of decision. Problems can arise when rewards are distributed on the basis of characteristics that people feel should not be rewarded, or when there is disagreement over the particular characteristics of those receiving the rewards.

This latter case may involve prejudice--literally prejudging. Traits (usually negative) are attributed to individuals on the basis of past observations of groups of which they are members or on the basis of earlier experiences no longer relevant. One reason for disagreement over individual characteristics is that precise information is unobtainable, or at least expensive. Discrimination, however, implies linking one's prejudices to some overt behavior that deprives members of a group of equal access or treatment (Harway-Herman, 1971). Those who believe that there is discrimination against women in education assume that decisions are based on nonmeritorious criteria and, hence, that legislation is necessary to change the criteria. One underlying assumption is that differences between the sexes relevant to postsecondary education do not exist, and it is merely the desire of those in power to maintain their positions which leads to the second-class position of women. Or perhaps differences do exist, but the rules of the game favor men. Differential distribution of rewards from education may be due to ignorance of the characteristics of each sex. However, the current status of the two sexes in education could result, at least in part, from actual difference, perhaps in their taste for level of education, given early experiences.

Individuals concerned with the treatment of women in education have defined discrimination in various ways, but they agree on several points. Some argue that discrimination exists when women are judged on group performance rather than on individual merit. This attitude is taken by Cross (1972), who states that "educational opportunity should depend not on class stereotypes based on the color or shape of one's skin (Sandler's phrase, 1972), but upon individual needs, desires, and potential for contribution" (p. 8). Freeman (1970) believes that the possibility of being discriminated against is as debilitating to women as actual acts of injustice:

> To go through life never really knowing whether one is seen as an individual or as a category, to engage in one's work with questions as to how much of it will be judged strictly on its merit and how much as the product of a member of a group, to be unable to say that one is treated the same as others without hidden bias--these uncertainties in themselves wreak their own havoc regardless of what the real situation may be (p. 118).

The traditional linkage of stereotyped characteristics with sex, the pursuant discrimination, and the contrast with practical realities of everyday life generate ambiguity for many women who become uncertain of their sex roles. Problems of women's careers today are closely linked with this feminine psychology: Do women as a group show distinctive mental or character traits that fit them better for one type of work than for another, or are such traits ascribed to them by prejudice and stereotyping (Harway-Herman, 1971)? No data support the former, and it has become discriminatory to list job openings as specifically for men or women (unless sex is a bona fide occupational requirement). The role of the counselor then becomes one of exploring with the female client the role ambiguity and her options.

CONCEPT OF THE STUDY

While several chapters (especially chapter 6--Counseling Materials) discuss guidance services other than counseling (information and appraisal), the study focuses on counseling.

Counseling is an interactive process between two or more individuals where the attitudes and prior experiences of both affect the outcome. It is not a one-time event where the counselor provides information to the student. The counseling interaction may consist of one or more sessions over short or long periods and its effects may last beyond the conclusion of the interaction.

While counseling is often thought to mean secondary school counseling, this study considers counseling as it affects individuals at different stages of development. Figure 1, which illustrates the interaction between student variables and counseling interventions, indicates that concerns other than counseling may, singly or in combination with counseling interaction, affect the outcome:

- Insert Figure 1 Here -

that is, background, race, sex, and socioeconomic status (SES) will account for the socialization of the student. These factors may affect motivation and self-esteem, determining whether the student pursues postsecondary education and which program he/she chooses.

If the student makes a certain choice about his/her future educational plans, that choice may not be due to a counselor's discriminatory intervention but to the student's socialization or socioeconomic stratum. Thus, to examine only counselor-student interaction and to deduce from the interaction or its consequence whether the counselor is discriminating is simplistic.

- Insert Figure 2 Here -

The dyadic counseling process (figure 2), the main focus of the study, can be compared with a chemical process in that two major ingredients, student characteristics and counselor characteristics, interact to form a counseling intervention. While the characteristics (e.g., background, race, expectations) of the two participants are not themselves viewed as discriminatory, they give the observer a baseline. In determining if discrimination has occurred during the counseling process, an observer can only understand the process by considering the counseling outcomes and the characteristics of both participants.

An overview of the effects of the educational system and society on the student is presented in chapters 2 and 3. To understand the impact of guidance and counseling, it is necessary to understand the characteristics the individual brings to the situation. Cannell and Kahn (1968) argue that

> each person comes to the interview with many fixed attitudes, personality characteristics, and stereotypes of other groups. Both respondent and interviewer also possess characteristics visible to the other and suggestive of group memberships and group identifications--age, sex, race, religious background, income, and educational status (p. 549).

They cite two ways in which background characteristics may affect the interview process: a) They may play a part in determining the psychological characteristics of both parties, including the relevant perceptions, attitudes, and motives. If the two persons are from widely different backgrounds, mutual understanding may be more difficult. b) Background characteristics provide one participant with cues about the other. For example, if the student is assigned to a counselor of another race, this difference may affect his/her attitude or behavior toward the counselor and, consequently, the results of the counseling interaction itself. The student's sex or race may in turn lead the counselor to certain expectations about the counselee's ability, motivation, and achievement orientation.

The purpose in chapters 2 and 3 is not to document instances of discrimination but to contribute to understanding the forces that have impacted on the student prior to his/her first experience with a secondary school counselor. These characteristics are a function of the individual's previous experience with parents, school, and media.

The educational system has been identified by several writers as dealing unequally with the two sexes (Harrison, ~~1973~~ 1974; Frazier & Sadker, 1973; Macleod & Silverman, 1973). In a sense, the educational system mirrors society: In a society that deals unequally with men and women, the schools will deal unequally with boys and girls. Chapter 2 provides evidence from developmental data on sex differences (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), from reports documenting harmful effects of teacher expectation (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), and from the media on the part they play in conveying sex roles. The impact of family and friends on future plans of the child through high school is also examined.

Chapter 3 documents the development of other student characteristics that can affect guidance experiences. Motivation, self-concept, and the attitudes of students toward women, especially women and work, affect the likelihood that the student will seek nontraditional alternatives on his/her own.

Many social myths about achievement, motivation, self-concept, and women's place in society persist. While acceptance of women working seems to be increasing, career options are restricted largely to traditionally feminine areas. Women believe the ideal women should strive for a balance between self-realization and intrafamily nurturing. But women's view of men's ideal woman is significantly more family-oriented and personally subordinated. This belief inhibits some women from seeking work because they believe men prefer traditional homemakers. Moreover, success and achievement are considered masculine attributes. When a woman is successful, either the quality of her achievement is devalued or a multitude of negative consequences is associated with her success. Since success by women is not highly valued even by other women, for women to seek success requires high self-motivation and an internalized reward system.

Chapter 4 looks at counselor training and the composition of the counseling profession to determine which background variables might affect guidance.

The American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) provided the racial and sexual breakdown of its members for the study. Faculty in a sample of 100 counselor education departments were tallied by sex (see p. 18 for an explanation of this exploratory study). Tallying by race became impossible: sex was determined by first name but the distinguishing characteristics of racial groups found in names were inadequate for a useful analysis. The membership of the American Psychological Association (APA), divisions 16 (school psychology) and 17 (counseling), was also tallied by sex. Some studies provided figures on counselor educators by sex and rank: The majority (67 percent) of counselor educators are men, and the women are concentrated in the lower ranks.

Since little information has been published on the content of counselor training, the 100 counselor education programs supplied the materials used in the study, which discusses the courses, the textbooks, and the impact of both on trainees.

Demographic data on individuals who provide counseling services came from a study of counseling divisions of state departments of education (Pressley, 1974), APGA and APA division 16 and 17 membership information, responses to the counselor questionnaire of the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), and descriptions of counseling services in college catalogs. While the majority (65 percent) of the elementary school counselors are women, 57 percent of secondary school counselors and a greater proportion of college counselors are men. The study analyzes state certification requirements and their implications for equitable counseling. Counselor workloads are also considered.

Chapter 5 discusses the effects of role and sex on counseling and counselor attitudes. Most studies show that the experiences of the counselor and the human qualities of both counselor and client, rather than counselor-client race and sex similarity, are the important dimensions. Research on counselor attitudes is highly complex. While data indicate that most mental health professionals hold negative or ambivalent attitudes toward women, delineation of the impact of these attitudes on the counseling interaction requires further research.

Chapters 6 through 9 review elements that affect the counseling interaction beyond immediate characteristics of the parties. Counseling instruments and materials, including college and proprietary school catalogs, are assessed for sex bias in Chapter 6. Tests and test manuals, illustrations in career materials and the content and illustrations in catalogs reflect sex-role stereotypes.

Counseling and guidance theories, from which practice and instrumentation derive, may have a powerful impact on the way counselors conceptualize clients and their problems (chapters 7 and 8). Since the first two sets of counseling theory are based heavily on psychological theory, they reflect the sex bias of the latter. Vocational development theory usually ignores women's development and concern.

Chapter 9 examines the little data available on counseling outcomes, studying the impact of different types of counseling. Conclusive results are scarce; much more research is needed.

Novel approaches to counseling women, ranging from those developed and applied in traditional settings to those out of the mainstream which show promise, are presented in chapter 10, which both describes the problems and evaluates the new approaches. Findings attest to the great wealth of recent developments.

Chapter 11 ties together data from preceding sections to present preliminary conclusions and implications for four groups: legislators, researchers, institutions, and counselors.

DATA AND TIME CONSTRAINTS

The present study was undertaken to comply with the provision of the Women's Educational Equity Act that a study on sex discrimination be completed within a year of enactment. Because of this provision, the research team operated under enormous time constraints. The work had to be completed within 9 months of the contract data (April 16, 1975 to January 16, 1976). Consequently, selective review of data and literature sources was conducted.

In many areas little data were available. Where no empirical information was available, discussions and theoretical papers were included to generate implications and to discuss the issues. Little separation has been made between the secondary and postsecondary levels by researchers investigating counselors. Most studies do not specify whether secondary or postsecondary counselors were the population studied. Whenever possible, the exact population is reported; where no specifics are mentioned, none were available.

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

The critical analysis depends heavily on three data sources:

1. Existing research and theoretical literature.

2. Reexamination and presentation of data from statistical reports (e.g., Project TALENT, census data, NCES data, CIRP data).

3. Exploratory studies that address questions for which information is lacking in either the theoretical and research literature or the statistical profiles of high school and college youth.

Literature Search. The literature reviewed has appeared primarily in the last decade, except for "classic" studies of long standing. The method used to identify the documents included:

1. A cataloguing and review of bibliographies, books, reprints (Astin, Parelman & Fisher, 1975; Astin, Suniewick, & Dweck, 1974; Bickner, 1974; Harmon, 1972; Westervelt, & Fixter, 1971; Phelps, Farmer & Backer, 1975; Padilla & Aranda, 1974).

2. Computer searches of the literature, including the APA service, ERIC

(Education Resource Information Center), CIJE (Current Index to Journals in Education) and RIE (Research in Education). Searches are done by developing key-word concepts. For example, key words include: higher education, sex discrimination, women's education, college-bound students, Negro students, career planning, career choice, minority women, postsecondary education, educational opportunity, role perceptions, role models, school responsibility, and so forth. (For literature content, see annotations.)

Data Sources

Data sources and statistical reports based on these sources include:

1. Project TALENT. In 1960, Project TALENT surveyed students in grades 9 through 12 in a 5 percent stratified random sample of the nation's high schools. These students were followed-up through mail questionnaires 1, 5, and 11 years after high school graduation. Special telephone follow-ups assured representativeness of the follow-up samples. At that time, TALENT collected background information on ability, SES, grades, curriculum, educational and career interests, and expectations, and follow-up data on educational, job, and personal experiences.

2. Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP). The Cooperative Institutional Research Program, conducted jointly by the American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, began in 1966 with data collected from all entering freshmen at 307 representative institutions. Today the sample includes over 600 institutions. The entire freshman class of participating institutions is surveyed upon matriculation. At subsequent intervals, subsamples of these same students are again surveyed.

The main purpose of the annual survey is to collect student input. The instrument is the Student Information Form (SIF), a four-page questionnaire designed to be self-administered under proctored conditions and to be processed onto magnetic tape by an optical scanner. Many of the approximately 200 SIF items, essentially the same from year to year, elicit standard biographical and demographic information from each student: for example, sex; racial/ethnic, and religious background; parents' income, educational levels, and occupations; high school activities and achievements; means of financing college education; degree aspirations; probable major field; career plans; attitudes on social and campus issues; and life goals. Through repeated items, not only may successive cohorts of freshmen be compared to discover national trends in the characteristics of entering students, but also the individual's responses on the SIF can be compared with his/her responses on follow-up questionnaires to see whether he/she has changed (for instance, in his/her political views or career plans) over time.

Items are added to the SIF as new areas of higher education become prominent. In 1971, when open admissions and programs for underprepared students were topics of special interest, freshmen were asked to indicate in which, if any, subjects they might need tutoring or remedial work. The SIF represents a compromise between two demands: the need for continuity to obtain comparable information and the need for flexibility to permit investigation of current issues.

3. National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). The NSSFNS file provides information on a national sample of black high school seniors representing the high school classes of 1971-72-73. These data, collected as part of a program to provide counseling and guidance services to black youth, include demographic items, educational and occupational aspirations, attitudes, values, and high school experiences and achievements. For each year the data file includes information on about 50,000 black youth at approximately 7,000 high schools.

4. National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. In spring 1972, over 1,000 high schools participated in a National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. Data were gathered from a sample of about 18,000 high school seniors. Follow-up data were collected a year after high school, and subsequent surveys are planned for a period of 6 to 8 years. Information includes student demographic characteristics, postsecondary plans, educational and occupational aspirations, and high school experiences and achievements.

Exploratory Studies

Several exploratory studies were conducted to generate implications:

1. Appendix B includes a list of 100 colleges and 19 proprietary institutions whose catalogs were analyzed. The colleges are representative of the CIRP institutions on selectivity, geographical location, control (public-private), and type (two-year, four-year, predominantly black). Although the proprietary institutions, included in the 1974 CIRP, are not a statistical sample, they are representative of schools of different types and geographical locations. The outline used to analyze the content of the catalogs is in appendix C.

2. The alumni offices of these same institutions sent results of any alumni surveys conducted in the last 5 years. Any data on satisfaction with college counseling experiences were abstracted.

3. One hundred programs of counselor education (see appendix D) were randomly chosen from 400 programs cited in Hollis and Wantz (1974). Directors of these programs furnished information on their curricula, including lists of course readings and faculty, and self-studies or evaluations of their counseling centers.

4. A nationwide listing of requirements for counselor certification in the 50 states was analyzed for content.

5. Two exploratory studies in the Los Angeles high schools, one of the content of career and vocational guidance literature and the other of financial aid information, were conducted.

6. Counselor job descriptions in the Los Angeles schools were assessed for information on counselor workloads.

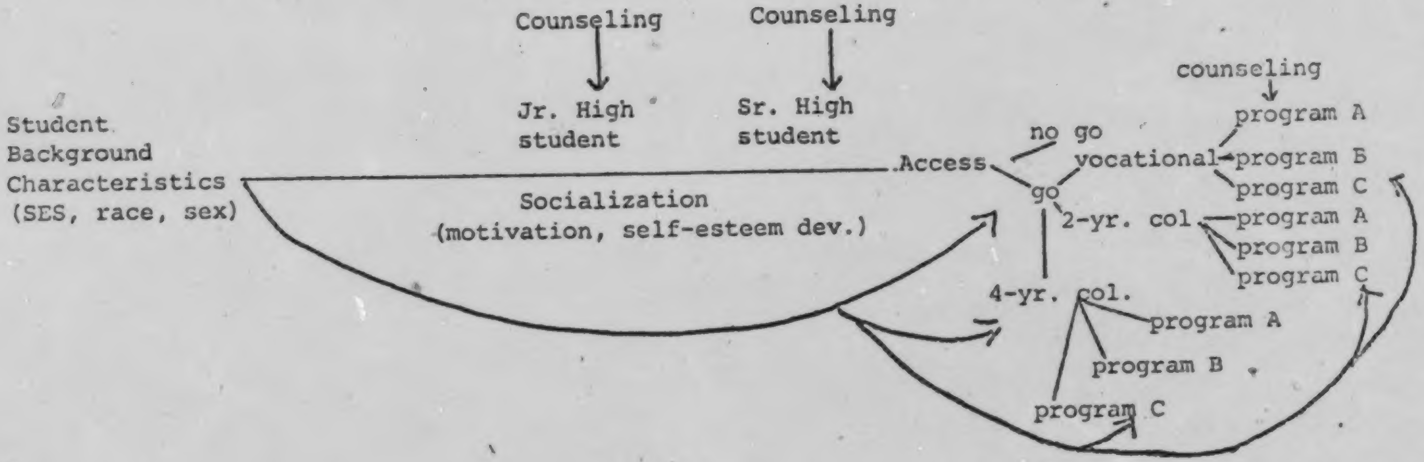
Counseling
Jr. High student
Counseling
Sr. High student
Student Background Characteristics (SES, race, sex)
Socialization (motivation, self-esteem dev.)
Access
no go
go
vocational
2-yr. col
4-yr. col.
counseling
program A
program B
program C
program A
program B
program C
program A
program B
program C

Figure 1. Relationship of background variables, counseling and outcomes.

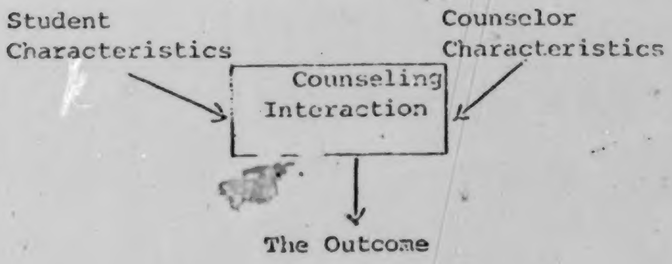
Student
Characteristics
Counselor
Characteristics
Counseling
Interaction
The Outcome

Figure 2. Dyadic counseling process.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY SOCIALIZATION AND THE ROLE OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

Exploring the relationship between socialization and guidance is difficult but essential to understand the nature and impact of guidance. This chapter considers the nature of socialization and implications of the process, as it occurs prior to high school, on development in high school and beyond.

Socialization is step-by-step learning of behavior appropriate to one's role in society. "References to socialization suggest a process by which children are oriented to operate as members of an established adult community" (Hess, 1970, p. 458). Of primary concern is the process by which children learn to be males and females.

Guidance is also a learning process. As a person learns what is necessary to be an adequate member of society, he/she may seek assistance to achieve satisfactory adjustment to his/her role. Guidance is one process by which persons become socialized. However, there are numerous other processes that also affect individuals prior to and concurrent with guidance. To understand the impact of guidance it is necessary to understand the characteristics the individual brings to the guidance situation. These characteristics are a function of the individual's previous experiences, i.e., socialization.

Socialization refers to the pattern of antecedent variables that shape behavior and tie it to the social system in which an individual lives (Hess, 1970). Since this topic is complex and riddled with controversy, it is necessary to offer a word of caution: Numerous theories and methodologies generate heterogeneous empirical results and at each point the meaning can be confounded by social class and ethnic considerations. Scholars in many disciplines have discussed sex differences and sex roles, defining socialization and its components with their own terminology and theories.

This review focuses on environmental - particularly societal - influences on sex behaviors and roles, since these areas are most readily controllable and open to change.

BEHAVIORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF SOCIALIZATION

The importance of early socialization in determining behavior, perceptions, and preferences in high school and beyond makes it imperative that this process be explored for potential sex bias that would incline a person or other persons to limit - or cause to be limited - an individual's options. Sex differences may exist in emotional reactions to people and events, in the vigor with which men and women attack life's problems, and in the potential for acquiring knowledge and skills for occupations (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Then consideration focuses on the social acceptability of sex-typed behaviors, "those (behaviors) that are less expected and sanctioned (when exhibited) by one sex, and in contrast are considered appropriate when manifested by the other" (Mischel, 1970, p. 4), and the advantages or limitations of differences for the individual. Finally, if psychological sex differences do exist, how do they come about? Are they inevitable (behavioral tendencies) or products of arbitrary social stereotypes? And do they impose limitations or expectations for the lives of each sex? (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

In their critical summary of empirical evidence of sex differences, Maccoby and Jacklin conclude that while some sex differences are quite well-established, others are myths and still others require additional evidence before their reliability can be ascertained.

Some established sex differences appear in verbal, visual-spatial, and mathematical abilities and aggression. While boys and girls tend to be nearly equal in these abilities until early adolescence, in the early teens girls tend to surpass boys in verbal ability and boys to surpass girls in visual-spatial and mathematical abilities. As early as age two, boys appear more aggressive than girls. This finding tends to be consistent cross-culturally.

Maccoby and Jacklin identify numerous alleged sex-differences which, in light of empirical data, prove to be unfounded beliefs. "Beginning in infancy, the two sexes show a remarkable degree of similarity in the basic intellectual process of perception, learning, and memory....The allegation that girls learn best by rote processes, boys by some more advanced form of reasoning is clearly not supported by evidence" (pp 61-62). Other unfounded beliefs are that girls are more "social" and "suggestible" than boys, that girls have lower self-esteem and lack achievement motivation, that boys are more analytical, that girls are more affected by heredity and boys by environment, and that girls are auditory and boys visual.

Girls do rate themselves higher in social competence. Boys often see themselves as strong, powerful, dominant and "potent". Boys' achievement motivation appears more responsive to competitive arousal than girls', but this does not imply that it is higher. During college (but not earlier or later) men have a greater sense of control over their own fate and greater confidence in their probable performance on a variety of college tasks. Research on sex differences in tactile sensitivity, fear, timidity and anxiety, activity, competitiveness, dominance, compliance, and nurturance has yielded inconsistent results and requires further exploration (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

Longitudinal studies reviewed by Cohen (1966) show that boys who are most active in childhood become strongly masculine and sexually active, but weaker in intellectual striving in adulthood. The same study suggests that boys nurtured by their mothers give up passivity and dependency under societal pressure in adulthood, but replace these behaviors with social anxiety, sedentary and intellectual careers, and low levels of sexual activity. Cultural pressures on girls to be traditionally feminine cause withdrawal from challenging tasks and decreasing interest in intellectual development. Inborn tendencies toward activity and passivity in boys and girls are not reversed but repressed, resulting in anxieties about not being appropriately masculine or feminine (Cohen, 1966). This finding suggests that activity and passivity may not be naturally sex-typed behaviors but become so through cultural conditioning.

Empirically supported behavioral sex differences do not appear to constitute sufficient reasons for differences in male and female roles. Certain behaviors are sex-typed, and a child learns quite early which behaviors and characteristics are appropriate for males and females. By age two and one-half, children are already able not only to distinguish males from females but also to sort correctly into piles utensils and clothing used by the two sexes - screwdrivers for "daddies" and aprons for "mommies" (Vener & Snyder, 1966). The five-year-old child has already acquired stereotyped descriptions of the two sexes: Daddy rabbits are stronger, larger, more dangerous, darker and more angular than mommy rabbits (Kagan, Hosken, & Watson, 1961). Iglitzen (1973) reports that fifth-grade students have stereotypic sex-role perceptions of career and employment patterns, personality traits, social roles, and their own future roles as adults. Schlossberg and Goodman

(1972a) find that girls and boys in kindergarten hold sex-role stereotypes of occupations and these stereotypes do not differ significantly from those held by sixth graders.

At least two processes are at work in the evolution of the perceptions in these studies: learning of appropriate sex-typed behaviors and learning of cultural sex-role stereotypes. Sex-typed behaviors refer to "role behavior appropriate to a child's ascribed gender" (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p. 277). Sex-typing deals with establishing a pattern of "feminine" or "masculine" interests and activities Maccoby and Jacklin find that parents encourage their children to develop sex-typed interests or provide them sex-typed toys. More strongly, they discourage their children, especially their sons, from inappropriate sex-typed behaviors and activities.

In their study of kindergarten and sixth-grade students, Schlossberg and Goodman (~~1972~~ 1972a) find that these children, regardless of age, can identify traditionally male and female occupations. In addition, these children choose occupations that fall within the usual stereotypes. A study of fifth-graders reveals similar results. Boys and girls demonstrate sex-stereotypic perceptions of occupations and personality traits. Although girls are less willing to reverse traditional sex-tied jobs, they are more willing to see occupations open to either sex. Further, girls have varied career aspirations. Only 6 percent say they would be only a mother or housewife. However, there is a marked discrepancy between their stated career goal and the way they would spend a day in the future. They focus on marriage and family, while boys focus on career and job (Iglitzen, 1973). While a girl at this age may plan for a career, other elements of socialization have not provided her with a picture of what would be involved in her role as a career person. The adult women she sees focus on marriage and family; this is the adult female role with which she is most familiar.

If children see certain jobs and traits as male and female, what are the implications of these sex-role stereotypes for level of aspiration and self-esteem? The Department of Labor, Women's Bureau (1972) has published data on women's participation in the work force. It is well-documented that traditionally female jobs are lower paying than traditionally male jobs and, hence, lower in status. A small fraction of professional positions, - doctors, engineers, college professors - are filled by women. The lowest status jobs also have small percentages of women participants. Women hold an overwhelming majority of middle-level clerical jobs. The median income of women, within a given occupational grouping, is only 50 to 60 percent that of men. Starting salaries, even when two applicants have the same qualifications except for sex, show a similar discriminatory pattern.

AGENTS OF EARLY SOCIALIZATION AND THEIR IMPACT

Sex discrimination is antithetical to counseling and guidance. It tends to limit arbitrarily an individual's options solely by sex. Counseling and guidance seek to optimize an individual's choices through self-understanding. Self-understanding may be inhibited by sex-role stereotypes one has learned through the socialization process which begins in childhood and continues into high school and adulthood. There are many agents of socialization - parents, peers, television, teachers, and others. Counseling and guidance personnel and materials are only two among the many. To maintain a perspective on the potential impact of guidance and counseling, it is necessary to consider the effect of these other agents prior to and during high school.

Sex ascription begins at birth when a baby is tagged male or female. This is the first bit of information parents learn about this new individual. However, the impact of this knowledge on parental behavior is unclear. There do exist a large number of studies (Bing, 1963; Crandall et al., 1964; Shaw & White, 1965; Heilbrun, 1969; Steinmann, 1970) and literature reviews (Zigler & Child, 1968; Mischel, 1970; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) which explore the relationship between parental attitudes and practices and child development. Lewis (1972) suggests that from the first contact parents deal differently with male and female children. They caress and speak softly to girl babies and throw their baby boys in the air more. Later they interact verbally more frequently with their female children. Maccoby and Jacklin, in their review of differential socialization of the sexes, find no clear trend that sons and daughters experience different amounts of parental warmth or reinforcement of dependent or aggressive behavior. Also there is no consistent proof that mothers provide more verbal stimulation to daughters than to sons. These authors conclude that there is no positive evidence that parents engage in specific sexual socialization to prepare their children differently for adult sexual "double standards." Girls are not reinforced more for modesty or punished more for sexual exploration. There are indications that parents are trying to socialize children of both sexes toward the same major goals but believe they are starting from different points because boys and girls have different "natural" assets and liabilities.

Maccoby and Jacklin cite evidence that parents actively encourage sex-typed interests, provide children with sex-typed toys, and actively discourage sex-inappropriate behavior. Boys seem somewhat more restricted; they are punished more but probably also receive more praise and encouragement. Adults respond as though they find boys more interesting or attention provoking than girls. Boys appear to have a more intense socialization experience, which undoubtedly has consequences for their development, including their values and future activities.

Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1968), in their study of family interactional structures, find that sex-role learning involves not only parent-child effects but also child-parent and sibling-sibling effects. The family is the most immediate contact point between the young child and the environment, and family interaction continues to affect the child's matrix of behavior far into the future (Hess, 1970). However, the family is part of a larger social system. "...The cultural and socioeconomic environment in which the family lives touches the child indirectly through values, taboos, aspirations, patterned interactions, and other belief systems of his family and directly in that the family itself is a part of its social and cultural surround" (Hess, 1970, p. 473).

> The impact of the total social and physical community, however, is increasingly free of mediation through family members as the child grows older and acquires information, values, and other patterns of behavior through more direct, though diffuse, contact with peers, adults in the community, mass media, and observations of his own....Even when no socialization agent is intentionally involved, children interact directly with the environment. The child absorbs information about norms and values of the social system of which he is a part and develops a pattern of response to it. (Hess, 1970, p. 473)

The child becomes an agent of his/her own socialization. Whether this self-socialization is the result of cognitive process or selective imitation and reward patterns or some combination is still up for debate.

To understand the nature of a child's perception of his/her role, the source and content of information must be examined. In addition to family influences, children's literature and television are major information sources available for processing by preschool children. Of course, television and other mass media continue to be major socializing influences throughout an individual's life.

A content analysis of a large number of children's books reveals that women are grossly underrepresented. Where they appear, traditional sex-role stereotypes are reinforced: Boys are active, girls are passive; boys lead and rescue, girls follow and serve others. Adult men and women are also sex-typed: Men engage in a wide variety of occupations, women are wives and mothers (Weitzman et al., 1972).

Analyses of elementary, high school, and college textbooks indicate similar biases. Protagonists in stories tend to be male; girls are portrayed as helpers and watchers, not doers, and are described as timid, helpless, and dependent. The occupations follow rigid, traditional sex lines: women are teachers, nurses; men are firemen, doctors, policemen (Women on Words and Images, 1972). In Macleod and Silverman's (1973) analysis of major government textbooks, a misrepresentation or lack of representation is accorded women. They are virtually excluded as historical figures and from descriptions and illustrations. When they are included, women are objects of derision in cartoons or they are in subordinate and supportive rather than leadership roles.

At least the message is consistent: Girls and women are sociable, kind, and timid, but inactive, unambitious, and uncreative. Boys and men are active, aggressive, tough, and successful. If these books are typical of other social influences, it is small wonder girls develop an inferiority complex about their sex (Macleod & Silverman, 1973).

Another, perhaps subtler, area is language. Schneider and Hacker (1973) document the effect of the generic term "man" in textbooks at the college level. Among college students "man" is usually interpreted as "male" rather than as "male and female." In high school government textbooks the use of masculine terminology implies exclusion of women (Macleod & Silverman, 1973). If this is the perception of relatively sophisticated college and high school students, is it not more likely to affect younger children to a greater degree? Are they not likely, upon hearing "mankind" and masculine pronouns used repeatedly, to believe women are nonexistent or at least unimportant? Bosmajian (1972), presenting the impact language has on identity, notes that language has been used to maintain inequities, injustices, and subjugation.

Visual mass media are another socializing influence at the preschool level and later. One review (Women on Words and Images, 1975) shows that frequent television viewing begins for most children at age three and remains high until they are twelve (Schram, Lyle, & Parker, 1961; Lyle & Hoffman, ~~1971~~ 1972). Children sometimes model their own behavior after behavior observed on television, and some generalization of behavior does take place (Liebert, Neals, & Davidson, 1973; Friedrich & Stein, 1973). In fact, audiovisual modeling is used to help children overcome phobias and withdrawal symptoms (Bandura, 1969; Liebert, Neale & Davidson, 1973).

If children attend closely to messages on television, the program content becomes crucial. Women on Words and Images (1975) has completed an analysis of sex stereotyping which shows that prime-time television communicates the message that there are more men around, and that they are dominant, authoritative, and competent. While neither sex displays a majority of positive behaviors, women show more negative behaviors than men.

> Archie (Bunker) may be mean-spirited but he is dominant and authoritatively mean, a master of the put-down as well. Edith is incompetent, dependent, and a victim. The few times when she does successfully solve a problem, she belittles herself. Together, they serve as models of adult life in contemporary America for children who sit in front of their television sets, laughing along with the sound track at the way men and women get along. (p. 30)

"The greater power of the male to control his own destiny is part of the cultural stereotype of maleness and is embedded in images on television and in print. Women could be externalizers by reason of cultural shaping alone" (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974, p. 157). Given the written and visual message women receive, it is not surprising that studies on how women perceive themselves, believe they are perceived by men, and how men perceive them suggest sharp contrasts and inconsistencies that would produce conflict in women and communication problems between the sexes (Astin, Suniewick & Dweck, 1974).

If a child should reach elementary school without being thoroughly exposed to sex-role stereotypes, this "lack" will be compensated for by the sexism that pervades schools (McCandless, 1969; Bernstein, 1972. Weitzman et al., 1972; Women on Words and Images, 1972; Frazier & Sadker, 1973; Levy, 1973; Saario, Jacklin & Tittle, 1973; Harrison, 1974).

Aside from the obvious stereotyping in textbooks, other more covert instances of sexism may occur in the classroom. The teacher may allow different behaviors by the two sexes or may him/herself utilize different disciplinary practices for boys and girls. Many studies have addressed the issue of female teachers' discrimination against boys. However, the results indicate that boys in general, far from being discriminated against, receive more positive as well as negative attention, more praise, more instruction, and more encouragement to be creative (Sears & Feldman, 1966). The school's "feminization" or "domestication" training is seen as good preparation for "real womanhood." In fact, girls are doubly trained, at home and at school to be docile and conforming (Levy, 1973). It is not unwarranted to suppose that such differential training will lead to different levels of achievement and self-concept (Sears & Feldman, 1966).

As early as kindergarten, curriculum and activities may be different for each sex. Both sexes may not have equal access to all play materials: girls may be directed toward housekeeping areas (equipped with dolls, toy stoves), while boys may be encouraged to play ball or build with blocks. Teachers may compound the situation by using stereotypic bulletin board materials, for example, "Men at Work" showing individuals in traditional sex-role occupations only. Having boys empty wastebaskets and girls dust is another example of possible sexist practices of teachers. Reviews of research and educational materials (books, tests) and curricula and practices in elementary schools (McCandless, ~~1968~~ 1969; Bernstein, 1972; Levy, 1973; Saario, Jacklin & Tittle, 1973) indicate that the structure and content of the American school system contribute to sex-role stereotyping and discriminate against both male and female students, thus limiting children's experiences.

How can one be sure that sex-role stereotyping affects children? Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) document the impact of the self-fulfilling prophecy in the educational context. Basically, self-fulfilling prophecy holds that one person's prophecy of another's performance can determine that performance. In an empirical test, Rosenthal and Jacobsen pretested all children enrolled in one school with a standard nonverbal intelligence test represented to teachers as one that would predict intellectual "blooming" or "spurting." About 20 percent of the children were later alleged to be potential spurters. Teachers were given the names of the alleged spurters (actually chosen at random). The difference between the special and the ordinary child then was only in the mind of the teacher. All children were retested at three later times and their gains in IQ computed between the different testing periods. After the first year a significant expectancy advantage appeared, that is, 47 percent of the "special" children or "bloomers" gained 20 or more IQ points compared with only 19 percent of the control children. In addition, "bloomers" were rated as more intellectually curious, happier, and less in need of social approval by their teachers.

How did such changes occur? Rosenthal and Jacobson suggest that the teacher may have communicated subliminally to the "special" children that he/she expected improved performance. Such communication, plus changes in teaching techniques, may have helped the child learn by changing his/her self-concept, motivation, and expectations of behavior, as well as cognitive styles and skills. Similarly, teacher expectations that a girl is passive and docile with high verbal ability but low quantitative ability may result in the child displaying those characteristics.

The school authority structure (male principals, female teachers) clearly teaches students the differential status, as do segregated classes and activities (Levy, 1973). It is rare that a child sees a man playing the loving, nurturing role of an elementary teacher. However, 80 percent of principals are men, so children rarely see women as effective and competent administrators.

Discrimination within the schools is not limited to sex discrimination. McCandless (1968) finds

> discrimination rampant on subtle as well as obvious grounds. Pressing socialization needs, such as in the sexual-social area, are all but ignored. Lower class youngsters, minority group youngsters, nonconforming youngsters, borderline-ability youngsters--all are shamefully ignored or even openly discriminated against. The socialization record becomes worse as the child moves from first to twelfth grade. (p. 811)

In considering early socialization, one must remember that the vast majority of research on sex-role development and socialization involves white, middle-class populations. Whether these conclusions are generalizable to other subgroups is open to question. Many scholars and artists have written perceptive works on the socialization experiences of blacks (Wright, 1937; Baldwin, 1963; Brown, 1966; Bernard, 1966; Billingsley, 1968; Ladner, 1971; Lerner, 1973), the lower class (Komarowsky, 1964; Seifer, 1973), Spanish-speaking minorities, Asian Americans, and American Indians. However, major research data are missing.

Since the research in minority or ethnic-group socialization is done by white middle-class scholars, their conclusions are open to sharp attack (Hernandez, 1970; Suarez, 1973) as based on assumptions, values, and constructs irrelevant to the social group studied.

Hess (1970) indicates that more modest self-estimates are given by Negroes than by whites and by children with low rather than by high socioeconomic status.

Several researchers attribute poor self-concept and low achievement to the "culturally deprived" early socialization experience of these children (Suarez, 1973). However, Suarez contends that these researchers lack sensitivity to cultural variations. Such comparisons and conclusions based on middle-class norms yield nonproductive, if not counterproductive, information. Educational institutions and state departments of education use such findings to rationalize their failure to meet effectively the needs of many student subgroups.

The quality of research makes definitive statements about minority or ethnic-group socialization experience impossible. Time and money are needed to train minority researchers and to fund sensitive, thorough research in differential socialization by race, ethnic group, and class, as well as by sex.

THE ROLE OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS ON POST-HIGH-SCHOOL PLANS

Socialization does not end once an individual reaches adolescence but continues through the secondary and postsecondary years and beyond. Male and female students all go through a period of socialization. As they pursue their education, they are socialized as scholars; when they enter careers or jobs, they are socialized as members of the profession or field. At each stage they learn the rules and the expected behaviors. The parents, teachers, counselors and peers who affected them in early years continue to do so. These significant individuals play a part in the future plans and orientation of students of both sexes.

The Teacher.

It is possible to evaluate the role of significant others by looking at both their attitudes and their impact as perceived by students. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), in their analysis of the impact of teacher attitudes on student behavior, indicate that teachers' favorable or unfavorable expectations can result in a corresponding increase or decrease in a pupil's intellectual performance. Christensen and Sedlacek's (1972) study of faculty attitudes toward university students shows that women and blacks are perceived more favorably than undergraduates in general. Blacks are perceived as serious, hard-working, outspoken students who should be kept in line more, while women are seen as the best, hardest working, most creative students. While these findings are indeed positive, they indicate a stereotypic view of both groups.

Other studies show more negative but equally stereotypic findings. Garman and Platt (1974), in research with instructors from the elementary, secondary, and college levels, were interested in whether teachers, like mental health professionals (Broverman et al., 1970), describe healthy women differently than healthy adults whose sex is unspecified, while not making this distinction between the latter and healthy men. They were also interested in whether the sex of the teacher is related to the use of sex-role stereotypes. Their results indicate that at all levels educators' concepts of mature personality differ from men and women, and that these differences parallel sex-role stereotypes. Both male and female educators describe women less like mature adults than they do men, yet female educators see women as much closer to the adult standard than do male educators.

Holding stereotypes about students, one might argue, does not necessarily result in negative consequences. However, Pettigrew (1964) notes that positive stereotyping is as deleterious as negative stereotyping: It forces individuals into certain roles. Sue and Kitano (1973) list several negative results of positive stereotypes: Asian-Americans are often viewed as quiet, unobtrusive, hard-working, and intelligent--all positive characteristics. Yet this stereotype often results in Asian students remaining passive, unquestioning, and obedient to conform to their teachers' expectations. When these students are rebellious or low-achieving, they may have to contend with anger from teachers because they have violated the teachers' expectations. Pettigrew (1964) explained this reaction suggesting that a self-fulfilling prophecy may operate with stereotypes rigidly and widely held. The self-fulfilling prophecy tends to make individuals behave in accordance with other persons' expectations. Individuality within the group is limited.

Rosenthal and Jacobson, as well as Dickerson (1974), show that stereotyping does affect student behavior. Dickerson asked female undergraduate and graduate students at four colleges to complete a questionnaire on their academic-vocational aspirations and on faculty and administrative perceptions of their academic-vocational role. The results indicate that students with higher aspirations are more apt to be those who feel that faculty and administration have high expectations for them. Voluntary comments from these students indicate that they are influenced by the expectations they perceive faculty and administration have for them, thus supporting the Pygmalion notion that a person's behavior is influenced by another's expectations (Dickerson, 1974).

The Counselor.

Counselors' attitudes toward men and women tend to follow stereotypic lines, that is, characteristics of the sexes are viewed as following prescribed patterns and career options are often seen as limited to typically "feminine" or "masculine" occupations. Data on the effect of counselors on high school students is presented below, along with similar data for other significant individuals in the secondary student's experience.

The Parent.

Parents, too, hold stereotypic views of appropriate behaviors for the sexes. Lambert et al., (1971), in a study cited by Maccoby and Jacklin, asked parents to check a list of behaviors to indicate whether they believe that boys or girls are more likely to engage in them. While the sexes are often described differently, the views held for each are remarkably similar, although parents "believe they are starting from different points with each sex having a different set of 'natural' assets and liabilities" (p. 344).

Baruch (1972), investigating the reason that some women devalue feminine professional competence, indicates that the tendency to devalue is associated with having a nonworking mother. Women whose mothers worked evaluate women's competence highly, regardless of any negative experience their mother may have had as a result of work. Almquist and Angrist (1971) investigating the effect of role models and reference groups on college women's career aspirations, find that career-oriented women have working mothers, have been exposed to occupational choices of male peers, and feel influenced by faculty members and occupational role models in choosing a career. Noncareer-oriented women have mothers who are more often active in leisure pursuits.

Student Perceptions of Interactions.

While teachers and parents come into frequent contact with students, the counselors' contacts are much less frequent. Since counselors are likely to have great impact on students' post-high-school plans, the attitudes and values of these significant individuals affect interaction with students. Does this impact vary by sex of the student? Since no studies were found to address this issue, three data sources were examined for some understanding of how significant others affect students.

Project TALENT. The Project TALENT data bank includes counseling assessment measures of a national sample of 400,000 high school students in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades in 1960 with follow-ups one, five, and ten years after high school. This survey indicates that boys have often discussed post-high-school plans with their fathers, while girls have consulted with mothers, siblings, friends, and other adults. Counselors, teachers, principals, and clergy advise both sexes equally. What cannot be ascertained is whether these individuals seek high school students to give them advice or whether they are sought by the students. What is more, if the latter is the case, why are fathers more often sought by boys than by girls? This issue becomes more pressing when viewed in the light of Almquist and Angrist's (1971) findings that a masculine reference group is important in fostering career orientation in women.

When the class of 1960 was queried about the kind of advice sought from teachers and counselors, men more often than women discussed college plans, high school work, and personal problems, while both discussed post-high-school jobs about as frequently. Tables 1 and 2 present Project TALENT results.

- Insert Tables 1 and 2 About Here -

In a 1965 follow-up to the 1960 survey, participants were queried about important decisions later regretted. Of interest here is the relationship between students' contacts with their counselor and later satisfaction with decisions. For both sexes, "failure to obtain education after high school is inversely related to discussing higher education plans with the counselor" (Flanagan et al., 1967, p. 6-8). More women who have infrequent discussions of college plans with counselors fail to finish college. More men than women are sorry that they have not attended college or that they dropped out. Women are more often sorry about their choice of college. However, there is no systematic relationship between satisfaction with college decision and discussions with guidance counselors. Flanagan et al., notes that "this failure to find systematic trends where they would logically be expected poses some rather serious questions concerning the effectiveness of high school guidance programs" (p. 8-13).

National Longitudinal Study. The National Longitudinal Study (NLS), a second data source that provides insight into individuals with the most impact on high school students, is a nationwide survey of high school seniors made in 1972 with a follow-up one year after high school. Students indicated which individuals had a strong influence on their choice of high school curriculum. Table 3 indicates that, overall, parents have the greatest impact, while counselors and peers have some impact. Women seem more affected by parents than men, with minority students more affected than whites by all significant others.

- Insert Tables 3 and 4 About Here -

Table 4 presents data on those having impact on students' future plans. Most important differences between subgroups occur by race rather than by sex, with black and Hispanic students relying more heavily than whites on parents, peers, other relatives, and counselors. Overall, women seem more affected than men by outside input, particularly from peers. White students are somewhat more likely to discuss their plans frequently with parents and peers than are minority students, suggesting that significant others are consulted in many cases but their advice not followed, (see Table 5). Women appear to have more discussions about their plans with significant others and, as Table 4 indicates, seem more affected by them.

- Insert Tables 5 and 6 About Here -

Students were also asked specifically whether teachers or counselors try to influence their plans (see Table 6). A majority of both sexes are equally encouraged to go to college, and a majority do not perceive that counselors and teachers are trying to influence them toward vocational or technical schools. Men are more often encouraged to enter apprenticeships and the military, while women are more often encouraged to get jobs. However, the majority perceive little intervention by teachers and counselors in terms of the above three options. On the whole, members of minority groups are encouraged more frequently than whites to seek every option included in Table 5. This finding may indicate that the counselor is aware that minority students are more receptive to input.

Exploratory Studies. Exploratory studies of high school students is a third source of information about the role of significant others. Individual interviews were conducted during December 1974 with 70 students from seven high schools in metropolitan Los Angeles. Because one goal was to determine the major decision point in the postsecondary plans of students, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders were interviewed. Neither high school nor student selection was random, but subjects represent the complete range of socioeconomic levels and racial-ethnic backgrounds in the Los Angeles public school system. The student sample was 67 percent women and 33 percent men, 41 percent black, 14 percent Hispanic, 13 percent Asian-American, and 32 percent white. It included students whose parents' annual incomes range from $3,600 to $70,000.

Well over half the college-bound students identify their counselors as the most or second most helpful person in college-related matters. The second most frequently mentioned group is parents. The counselors are viewed as more helpful in inner-city schools, where many parents have not attended college, and home situations often do not support college attendance. Students with older brothers or sisters who have attended college find them of help in making future plans. When asked who was most or second most helpful to them in deciding what courses to take in high school, 65 percent of the boys and girls identified their counselor, and 30 percent mentioned "self". Once again, a pattern of greater dependence on the counselors emerges in the lower SES schools, while the more affluent students are much more likely to depend on themselves or to be critical toward counselors. (These are "grade counselors", different from the college and financial aid advisor.)

To determine who is viewed as the best resource person, students were asked who they are most likely to go to for information or advice about college and financial aid. Approximately eight out of ten students (88 percent of the girls and 80 percent of the boys) named their college advisor. Several of the more highly motivated students indicated they contact the financial aid office directly for more information, and one student in a high SES school had written to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for financial aid information. The college advisor (officially, the college and financial aid advisor) is well regarded by almost all students. Typical comments are: "I don't know what I'd do without him" and "She is the most helpful--she knows everything."

These student attitudes are significantly different from many reported in the literature. Since the sample was not random, it was subject to bias. Counselors arranged the interviews and, in most cases, identified the students. Naturally, they would be more likely to select students with whom they were familiar, and if they were familiar they had probably had greater opportunity to be helpful. However, in some schools the counselors did not select the students but arranged for classroom teachers to send students to the interviews. One counselor ever recruited unfamiliar students from the hallway to participate in the study. The attitude toward counselors is not appreciably different in these situations, indicating that the bias of the sample cannot entirely account for the finding that counselors (especially college advisors) are good sources of information for most high school students.

As a group, the noncollege-bound and undecided students view the counselors as the people most helpful for choosing high school classes and discussing college, and the people to whom they would most likely turn for information about college and financial aid. Differences between girls and boys in the noncollege-bound group are not apparent, but the numbers (eight girls and four boys) are too small to warrant even preliminary conclusions. In fact, few conclusions can be drawn at this juncture about differential treatment by sex.

SUMMARY

Key findings in this survey of the effects of socialization on the sexes include:

1. Physiological differences are no more clearcut than similarities. While sex is physiologically determined, individuals' behavior and role assumption are determined by their gender identity, that is, the sex ascribed to them and which they ascribe to themselves, (Frazier & Sadker, 1973). Evidence suggests that social and cultural factors play a strong part in the behaviors and roles assumed by boys and girls.

2. While some sex differences are quite well established, others are myths, and still others require additional evidence before their reliability can be ascertained (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

3. There is little doubt that certain behaviors are sex-typed, and a child learns quite early which behaviors and characteristics are appropriate for males or for females. Parents encourage their children to develop sex-typed interests and provide them with sex-typed toys. They also discourage their children, especially their sons, from inappropriate sex-typed behaviors and activities.

In addition to family influences, children's literature and television are major sources of information for processing by preschool children. Analyses of children's books and of elementary, secondary, and college textbooks reveal that women are grossly underrepresented. Where women appear, traditional sex-role stereotypes are reinforced. Prime-time television communicates the message that there are more men around and that they are dominant, authoritative, and competent. Women hold traditional jobs, are dependent, and have more negative characteristics. These stereotypes are even more explicit in commercials.

Sexism pervades the schools. Aside from the obvious stereotyping in textbooks, other more covert instances may occur in the classroom. The teacher may allow different behaviors by the two sexes and may treat boys and girls differently. As early as kindergarten, cirriculum and activities may not be the same for each sex.

4. Most research in sex-role development and socialization has involved white middle-class populations. Whether conclusions from this research are generalizable to other subgroups is open to question. Moreover, much of the research on minority or ethnic-group socialization is done by white middle-class scholars and is open to criticism bases on cultural sensitivity.

5. Significant others play a role in students' post-high school plans. Boys more often discuss post-high school plans with their fathers, while girls consult with mothers, siblings, friends, and other adults. Counselors, teachers, principals, and clergy advise both sexes equally. Men more often than women discuss college plans, high school work, and personal problems, while both discuss post-high school jobs with similar frequency. Black and Hispanic students rely more heavily than whites on parents, peers, other relatives, and counselors. Overall, women as a group appear to have more discussions about their plans with significant others and seem more affected by them.

Both sexes are equally encouraged to go to college and neither group perceives that counselors and teachers are trying to influence them to go to vocational or technical schools. More men are encouraged to enter apprenticeships and the military, while women are more often encouraged to get jobs. On the whole, members of minority groups are encouraged more frequently to seek every post-high school option.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Facilitating students' life adjustment, role clarification, and self-understanding is the purpose of guidance and counseling. Evaluation of the sex-fairness or sex-bias in guidance and counseling at the secondary level and beyond is complicated by the socialization process. Students at these levels, as well as counselors, teachers, parents, and others, have learned sex-appropriate behaviors, attitudes, and aspirations, internalizing cultural sex-stereotypes. The institutions within which they function are products of these cultural conditions. Analysis of overt sex discrimination in counselor attitudes and counseling materials is not sufficient to determine the dimension of sex-bias confronting both boys and girls in high school and later. Knowledge of the nature of the sex-stereotypes that children have internalized through earlier socialization and of what other socialization agents--parents, teachers, books, movies, television, peers--are currently teaching students about their appropriate sex-role is essential to evaluate the success of counseling and guidance in optimizing an individual's alternatives regardless of sex.

While discriminatory hiring practices or college admissions policies can be outlawed, attitudes cannot be legislated. Stereotypes are exceedingly difficult to change.

> If a generalization (stereotype) about a group of people is believed, whenever a member of the group behaves in the expected way the observer notes it and his belief is confirmed and strengthened; when a member of the group behaves in a way that is not consistent with the observer's expectations, the instance is likely to pass unnoticed and the observer's generalized belief is protected from disconfirmation. (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, p. 355)

Here the role of education and guidance becomes crucial. To overcome stereotypes that arbitrarily limit the options of either sex, a thoughtful, consistent and thorough plan of education, not only for children but also for counselors, teachers, parents, employers and government agencies is necessary. Until all these groups are convinced that nursing is an appropriate career for boys as well as girls, and engineering is equally appropriate for both, there is little hope of changing the labor market structure. Until girls are encouraged to explore their potential for assertiveness and independence and boys their potential for empathy and compassion, the whole range of human feelings and behavior will not be equally available and acceptable for all.

TABLE 1 --Number of times 1960 high school students discussed post-high-school plans with different persons, by sex: United States, 1960 (in percentages)

Persons	Less than three times		Three or more times	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Father	29	32	71	68
Mother	22	13	78	87
Siblings	62	50	38	51
School Counselor	71	74	26	26
Teachers, principal	70	71	30	29
Clergy	88	89	12	12
Friends	23	12	77	88
Other adults	54	47	46	53

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns to represent the universe.

SOURCE: American Institutes for Research, Palo Alto, California, Project TALENT: The American High School Student, prepared by J.C. Flanagan, et al., (1964).

TABLE 2 --Number of times 1960 high school students discussed concerns with teachers, principals and counselors during current year, by sex: United States, 1960
(in percentages)

Types of concern	Less than two times		Two or more times	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
College plans	49	54	51	46
Jobs after high school	62	61	38	39
High school work	51	57	49	43
Personal problems	80	84	20	16

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns to represent the universe.

SOURCE: American Institutes for Research, Palo Alto, California, Project TALENT: The American High School Student, prepared by J.C. Flanagan,et al., (1964).

TABLE 3 --Persons reported having very important influence on the choice of high school program by 1972 high school seniors, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972
(in percentages)

Persons	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Men	Women	White	Black	Hispanic
Self	87	91	89	89	86
Parents	27	32	26	50	45
Other relatives	5	6	4	16	8
Counselor	15	14	13	30	26
Teachers	9	10	8	19	17
Peers	14	16	14	22	22
Other adults	6	8	6	16	13

NOTE--Data were collected from a sample of almost 18,000 high school seniors. Actual Ns for each item vary.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W.B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 4 --Persons reported having very important influence on 1972 high school seniors' plans for after high school, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972
(in percentages)

Persons	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Men	Women	White	Black	Hispanic
Self	89	93	92	90	86
Parents	42	45	41	61	50
Other relatives	13	16	12	27	22
Counselor	9	9	7	21	16
Teachers	9	11	10	18	15
Peers	22	27	23	35	29
Other adults	15	20	16	24	22

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W. B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 5 --Frequent discussion of plans for after high school by 1972 high school seniors with other individuals, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972

(in percentages)

Persons	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Men	Women	White	Black	Hispanic
Your parents	72	82	78	73	71
Friends your own age	67	80	75	70	69
A relative other than your parents	25	36	30	36	34
An adult not mentioned elsewhere	21	32	26	29	29
A guidance counselor	22	24	23	27	24
A teacher other than a guidance cournselor	16	20	18	22	17
Clergyman (Minister, priest, rabbi, etc.)	3	4	4	6	4
The principal or assistant principal	2	2	2	4	3
State employment service officer	2	2	1	5	3

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W.B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 6 --Type of infuence 1972 high school seniors felt teachers or counselors had ever tried to exert on their post-high-school plans, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972
(in percentages)

Types of Influence	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Male	Female	White	Black	Hispanic
To go to college					
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Discouraged	3	2	2	3	3
Encouraged	64	66	65	75	68
Didn't try to influence	33	32	33	22	30
To go to voc-tech school					
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Discouraged	6	6	6	8	8
Encouraged	31	32	30	43	34
Didn't try to influence	63	62	65	49	57
To enter apprenticeship					
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Discouraged	8	10	9	14	10
Encouraged	18	12	13	24	21
Didn't try to influence	74	78	78	62	69
To enter military					
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Discouraged	15	18	15	25	25
Encouraged	10	3	6	10	8
Didn't try to influence	75	80	79	65	66
To get a job					
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Discouraged	14	13	14	15	13
Encouraged	13	19	14	26	24
Didn't try to influence	73	68	72	59	63

NOTE--All groups may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W. B. Fetters (1975).

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION, SELF-CONCEPT, AND STUDENT ATTITUDES

The personal characteristics, motivation, and self-concept of students may affect guidance experiences. From previous experiences and their own aspirations and self-images, students develop perceptions and attitudes about the environment and their current and future roles in that environment. Evidence links sex-role perceptions, self-concept, and achievement motivation to achievement and life satisfaction (Connell & Johnson, 1970; Elman, Press & Rosenkrantz, 1970; Hollander, 1972; Putnam & Hansen, 1972). An individual brings these internal variables to any guidance situation. Since these characteristics may determine whether an individual seeks counseling, which questions are raised, and how the information is interpreted and utilized, it is important for counselors and educational policy-makers to understand the nature of these factors.

The interrelationship among these variables is complex. One's aspirations and self-concept, as well as opportunities, help determine the activities an individual will attempt. Success or failure, in turn, affects self-esteem and future aspirations. These activities and the feeling about them build perceptions and attitudes that are incorporated into one's self-image and aspirations.

If the goal of counseling and guidance is to help students explore and understand themselves so they may live more productive and satisfying lives, then achievement motivation and aspirations, self-concept and self-esteem, and student perceptions and attitudes are essential areas of exploration. Not only must the counselor be well acquainted with the theoretical constructs of these characteristics, but he/she must also be sensitive to individual differences. The counselor can then be a major resource person, aiding the student in self-exploration and development. The counselor can also help students, teachers, and parents to understand others and to accept and encourage broader alternatives.

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Achievement motivation is the extent to which one is concerned with attaining excellence. Historically, most research in this area concerns men. However, in recent years, researchers have examined two crucial questions that probe differential responses of men and women to achievement motivation: (a) Are women motivated to achieve to the same extent as men? (b) Are women motivated in the same areas and for the same reasons as men? Similarities and differences in the nature and level of achievement motivation affect student choices and alternatives. However, efforts to answer these questions have resulted in contradictory findings, both in underlying theories and in the empirical evidence.

Theory

Work by ~~Atkinson and~~ McClelland et al. (1953) forms the theoretical basis for much research on achievement motivation. They conceptualize achievement motivation as a relatively stable personality disposition, learned in early childhood, to strive for success in any situation where standards of excellence are applicable and to feel pride about success and shame about failure. They perceive the motive to achieve as generalizing across achievement areas. According to their theory, this motive remains latent until it is aroused by situational cues; it is then activated when the individual believes the consequences of his/her actions will lead to favorable or unfavorable evaluation. Once aroused, the motive results in achievement-oriented activity only if it is greater than the tendency to avoid failure.

According to a second model proposed by Crandall et al. (~~1965~~ 1975), there are three determinants of motivation in a given situation: expectancy of success, attainment value (the value attached to a particular type of achievement), and standards of performance. The minimum standard of performance is the lowest level an individual considers satisfactory.

Socialization

The level and direction of achievement motivation appear to be affected by sex-role definitions, orientations, and expectations. Sex-role orientation may cause individuals to be motivated to achieve only in areas that are sex appropriate. For example, women may be motivated to achieve in areas appropriate to their female sex-role definition rather than in "inappropriate" masculine domains.

Achievement needs may conflict with and be suppressed by affiliative needs (the need to seek the company of others). Some writers theorize that achievement behavior in women results from affiliative rather than achievement motivation. However, Stein and Bailey (1973) conclude that this theory misinterprets the fact that social skill and interpersonal relations are often important areas of achievement for women. Although women may be more concerned than men with social approval and with achieving in social areas, this concern does not determine their achievement behavior.

"Feminine" personality attributes such as nonassertiveness and dependency, may conflict with achievement motivation as it is usually manifested in intellectual and occupational contexts (Hoffman, 1972; Bem &

Bem, 1973). Fear of success, a motive postulated by Horner (~~1973~~ 1972), may also conflict with the motive to achieve. Considered a stable personality trait, fear of success probably develops in early childhood and adolescence when a girl learns or expects that negative consequences will follow her success in achievement situations because of the masculine sex-typed nature of achievement and the personality qualities and behavior necessary for achievement.

Women have evolved numerous methods to reduce the conflict between achievement striving and the traditional female role. Some define achievement-related behavior as more feminine than others, and so they do not see their action as especially "out of role." Other women reduce the conflict by identifying with the masculine role. Satisfying achievement needs vicariously through the accomplishments of husbands and children is a common way of achieving while staying in role, as is pursuing a feminine career or remaining in a low-status occupational position. Concealing accomplishments, such as reporting a lower grade than that actually received, and reducing effort, particularly in a competitive situation, lessen the conflict for some women. Finally, a woman can "compensate" for her achievement striving by being feminine in appearance and behavior or by fulfilling all the functions of the traditional feminine role--wife/mother/homemaker--as well as those of her career (Horner, 1972).

Why do so many girls and women experience this conflict between achievement striving and the feminine role, perceiving achievement as unfeminine? Stein and Bailey (1973), examining the socialization literature to see how children learn the various achievement and behavior patterns, conclude that childrearing practices conducive to feminine sex-typing are frequently antagonistic to those that lead to achievement-oriented behavior. The aspects of childrearing that appear to facilitate achievement-oriented behavior in women are a moderate, but not high, level of warmth or nurturance; permissiveness; independence, especially emotional independence; parental encouragement of achievement, including positive reinforcement, attempts at acceleration, and criticism for lack of effort; and an achieving maternal model. Even if a girl's parents provide these conditions, significant others--peers, teachers, relatives--also affect her development with their expectations and reactions (Rosenthal & Jacobson, ~~1958~~ 1968; Levy, 1973). Adolescence, with its vulnerability to social pressure, is a crucial time for achievement motivation in females (Campbell & McKain, 1974). Not only do social pressures differentially affect males and females, but among women there is also a differentiation effect across class, race, and ethnic lines (Hishiki, 1969; Johnson, 1970; Seifer, 1973; Astin, 1975).

Differential Aspirations

Academic and occupational aspirations and achievement infer levels of achievement motivation. Research studies provide data on differential educational and occupational aspirations. Data from the National Longitudinal Study (NLS) facilitate identification of differences in educational preparation and aspirations on the basis of sex, race, and father's education (Fetters, 1975).

In the NLS study, in which students indicate the highest level of education they plan to attain, 20 percent of the girls and 13 percent of the boys indicate no plans past high school graduation (see Table 7).

- Insert Table 7 About Here -

The trends are similar to earlier findings concerning students of different socioeconomic status (SES) as reflected by father's education, but reversed for students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Among students in academic programs whose fathers are college graduates, a higher proportion plans to go to four-year than two-year institutions (Table 8).

- Insert Table 8 About Here -

This relationship holds for both male and female students. Moreover 82 percent of black women and 84 percent of white women plan a four-year college education compared with 76 percent and 70 percent respectively for women whose fathers have less than high school educations. These trends must be interpreted cautiously because of the small samples of black students.

Students also indicate their plans for either postsecondary vocational training or four-year college education (Table 9).

- Insert Table 9 About Here -

Among low-SES students, blacks independent of sex are more likely than whites to pursue education at a four-year institution than in vocational schools. More black men (58 percent) and women (54 percent), whose fathers are not high school graduates, plan to pursue college education than white men (49 percent) and women (49 percent) whose fathers are not graduates. They are less likely to pursue vocational training. If the father is a college graduate, the gap between type of postsecondary training widens. However, higher proportions of the high-SES white than black students plan collegiate education.

National surveys of black high school seniors conducted in 1971 and 1974 (National Scholarship Service, 1971, 1974) provide data on sex differences in degree aspirations. Of the high school students desiring a bachelor's degree or less in 1974, black women are more likely (16 percent) to seek technical certificates or associate degrees than black men (12 percent), but less likely to seek a bachelor's degree. Black women are more likely (28 percent) to seek master's degrees than black men (26 percent) but less likely (22 percent) to seek doctoral or professional degrees than men (24 percent). There appears to be a general increase in the level of aspiration from 1971 to 1974, especially for black women moving from master's to doctoral and progressional degree aspirations (Table 10).

- Insert Table 10 About Here -

An ongoing longitudinal survey of American higher educational institutions, the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP), yields information of degree and occupational aspirations of college freshmen. A comparison of male and female degree aspirations (Table 11) indicates that while women still have lower aspirations than men, the level, especially for professional degrees, is increasing.

- Insert Tables 11 and 12 About Here -

A similar comparison of black college students only for 1968 and 1971 (Table 12) is consistent with degree aspirations of black high school students in the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) sample. While black men and women tend to have the same interest in a bachelor's degree in 1971, more women (38 percent) than men (32 percent) desire a master's and more men (26 percent) than women (19 percent) aspire to a doctoral or professional degree. Between 1968 and 1971 there is a slight shift in aspirations toward professional degrees. Based on NSSFNS data, this trend probably continues in 1974, perhaps becoming even more pronounced for black women than for black men.

A comparison of degree aspirations of all women who are entering college and of women 31 years of age and above (Table 13) reveals that while older women make up less than 4 percent of the sample, their markedly lower degree aspirations indicate that they approach higher education with a different frame of reference than younger women.

- Insert Table 13 About Here -

This subgroup may require different counseling programs and techniques.

The CIRP also indicates trends in career aspirations of college freshmen (Table 14).

- Insert Table 14 About Here -

Because of decreasing opportunities, there is a substantial decrease in the percentage of students, especially women, aspiring to careers in education. Women's aspirations are shifting to business and health. Men, who are shifting away from education careers,are also moving away from engineering. The fields to which men increasingly aspire are not clear from these data but some increased interest appears in the allied health area and in farming/ forestry. Both men and women freshmen are increasingly undecided about careers (7 percent and 9 percent increases from 1973 to 1974). Certainly this reflects the ambiguous job market, and highlights students' needs for guidance in understanding occupational opportunities and their educational requirements.

- Insert Tables 15 and 16 About Here -

A similar, though less dramatic, trend appears for black high school (Table 15) and college students (Table 16). Among black high school students, interest in education is decreasing and interest in the artistic, health, and science areas is increasing. Black high school women in 1974 show a dramatic surge of interest in business. For black college students, a drop in education career aspirations parallels increases in professional (doctor, lawyer) aspirations.

Women, regardless of race, still do not aspire to prestigious occupations with the same frequency as men and stereotypic occupational preferences persist. The percentage of women aspiring to be engineers, lawyers, business executives, and doctors is from one-tenth to one-half that of men, whereas the reverse is true for elementary and secondary education, and health and nursing occupations. Older women aspire to even less prestigious occupations than freshmen women (Table 17): nursing, business, secretarial-clerical occupations, computer programming, and the like.

- Insert Table 17 About Here -

Attribution Theory

Differences in the nature and level of aspirations between men and women and among racial and ethnic groups appear in some studies. While such differences are attributed to varying achievement motivation, this relationship may be more assumption than fact. Frieze et al. (1975), reviewing research on achievement-oriented behavior, find that some studies attribute women's failure to achieve to internal factors in the women. These authors think that external barriers are as important, if not more important, than internal psychological barriers.

People with high expectations for success tend to perform better on achievement tasks. Because of widely held sex-role stereotypes, it is quite likely that women have lower generalized expectancies for success than men. The course to which an individual attributes his/her success or failure influences future expectancies and subsequent achievement strivings.

Four causes of achievement outcome are ability, effort, luck, and task difficulty. Ability and effort are internal, while luck and task difficulty are external or environmental. Theoretically, maximum self-esteem would be associated with a tendency to make internal attributions for success and external or unstable attributions for failure. Women's attributions are generally external, often encouraged by modesty, low self-esteem, external locus of control, and fear of success. Individual differences, such as need for achievement, mediate attribution patterns, as do such situational factors as whether the task is competitive.

The expectations and attributions of others concerning women in achievement situations are also quite important: They can affect hiring, promotion, and other opportunities for achievement. Women's internal cognitive barriers to achievement, such as lower expectation for success, stem from cultural standards for sex-appropriate behavior.

SELF-CONCEPT

The image an individual develops of him/herself affects behavior and attitudes. In turn, new experiences affect self-concept. The manner in which information is processed and internalized to some extent depends on how consistent that information is with this self-image. To some degree alternatives are considered, decisions made, and the level of success expected in light of what the individual knows about him/herself.

The nature and level of the student's self-concept are, then, important to effective guidance and counseling. Counselors, to provide pertinent educational and career guidance, need to understand the interrelationships of self-concept, aspirations, and achievement. Furthermore, counselors must be aware of possible differences in the nature of self-concepts for certain subgroups and the implications these differences have for guidance experiences.

Recent studies focus on self-concept, as a mediating variable in achievement, in efforts to understand the reasons for women's lower aspirations and achievement. From these studies, which demonstrate the lower evaluation of feminine traits and products (Broverman et al., 1970; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968; Goldberg, 1968), one would expect women to hold low or negative views of their worth.

Some studies report that women set lower aspirations and goals for themselves (Watley, 1971) and that views and expectations of others influence young women's orientation to academic endeavors (Crandall et al., 1964; Brindley, 1971; Entwisle & Greenberger, 1972). Others suggest that women have lower self-esteem than men. Berger (1968) concludes that the self-evaluation of women is partially contingent on their degree of certainty that other people like them. This implies that women's self-esteem is shaped by the messages they receive from significant others, rather than by tests of their own competencies. Although self-esteem might increase from successful testing, if the competencies are perceived as incongruent with "feminine" behavior or approval, the impact on self-evaluation might be negative.

Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), who examine 30 studies on self-esteem, do not find any sex differences on this trait. They conclude that "there is no overall difference between the sexes in self-esteem, but there is a male cluster among college students made up of greater self-confidence when undertaking new tasks, and a greater sense of potency, specifically including the feeling that one is in a position to determine the outcomes of sequences of events that one participates in" (p. 158).

However, the effect these self-perceptions have on motivation, achievement, persistence, and career development and commitment remains undetermined. The impact of different college environments and experiences on the growth of self-esteem must also be determined, since a positive, overall self-image, as well as accurate accounts of one's intellectual competencies and leadership qualities, are determinants of success in the world of work.

Goals Among High School Students

Students in the National Longitudinal Study answer two questions that reflect self-image and expectations. One indicates agreement with statements reflecting views about themselves in relationship to aspects of life.

- Insert Tables 18 and 19 About Here -

Table 18 lists the percentage of students which "strongly agrees" or "agrees" with such statements. Even though more men take a positive attitude toward themselves (88 percent men; 84 percent women), more women are satisfied with themselves (77 percent women; 74 percent men). Moreover, more men (94 percent) than women (90 percent) say, "I am able to do things as well as most other people." Despite these small differences, overall, young persons see themselves in positive terms. An examination of differences in life goals of high school men and women (Table 19) indicates that more men consider success in work an important objective, whereas a higher percentage of women views the right mate and family life as important. Lots of money and a leadership role are more important for men.

- Insert Tables 20 and 21 About Here -

Goals Among College Students

Table 20 lists college students who rate themselves above average on 22 traits. A little more than half of both sexes see themselves alike on "drive to achieve"; the proportions of both women and men who consider themselves above average on this trait increase over time. Most traits show no noticeable changes over time, which suggests that college populations during the last ten years perceive themselves similarly. In the recent survey both sexes rate themselves higher on "understanding of others," "intellectual self-confidence," and "social self-confidence."

Among these 22 traits, women rate themselves higher on "artistic ability," "cheerfulness," "understanding of others," "writing ability," and "sensitivity to criticism." Men rate themselves higher on academic achievement-oriented traits, for example, "intellectual self-confidence," "originality," "mathematical ability," "public speaking ability," and "leadership." On such traits as "popularity in general," "popularity with the opposite sex," "physical attractiveness," and "social self-confidence," which society ascribes to women more often than to men and where one might, therefore, expect women to rate themselves higher, college women rate themselves lower than men. Whether women take this rating because they feel less worthy or because their socialization encourages modesty and a high rating is inconsistent with "femininity" remains a moot question, since the literature on self-esteem is confused and contradictory.

An examination of the self-ratings of black students entering colleges (Table 21) reveals lower self-ratings for black compared with white men and women on "academic ability," "mathematical ability," "mechanical ability" and, to some extent, "originality." Ratings on "drive to achieve" and "intellectual self-confidence" are comparable, while ratings on "popularity in general" and "popularity with the opposite sex" are higher for black than for white students.

- Insert Table 21 About Here -

Compared with white women, black women rate themselves lower on "artistic ability" and "math ability" and higher on "drive to achieve," "popularity in general," "popularity with the opposite sex," "intellectual self-confidence," and "social self-confidence." Compared with black men, black women rate themselves higher on "drive to achieve" but lower on "leadership," "math ability," "mechanical ability," "popularity with the opposite sex," and "intellectual and social self-confidence."

In a comparison of women over 31 in two-year institutions with all college women in all institutions, older women (Table 22) rate themselves lower than all other women on a number of the academic and achievement variables.

- Insert Table 22 About Here -

In part, this results from being away from school-related tasks; the women tend to underestimate their self-confidence. Also, this sample represents adult women attending two-year institutions. Academic and achievement ratings tend to be lower for students at two- than at four-year institutions, independent of sex. The older women rate themselves lower than all freshmen women on "academic ability," "math ability," "originality," and "writing ability." These women also tend to rate themselves lower than men on academic and achievement traits.

Closely allied to self-ratings are life goals, since they reflect needs and motivations for educational attainment and occupational development. Tables 23 - 26 list the preferences of young people for life goals and roles.

- Insert Table 23 About Here -

Table 23 presents the aspirations of black men and women as reflected in the "person they would most like to be." Women aspire to be educators and creative or performing artists, while men select businessmen, athletes, and scientists.

- Insert Tables 24, 25, and 26 About Here -

Tables 24-26 indicate the preferences for life goals in terms of contributions and influences of men and women (Table 24), black men and women (Table 25), and young and older women (Table 26). Women give higher priority to "influence social values," "raise a family," "help others in difficulty," "original writing and artistic works," "develop a philosophy of life," and "participate in community action." Men list "obtain recognition from colleagues," "be an authority in my field," "be very well off financially," and "be successful in my own business."

STUDENT ATTITUDES

Students' conceptions of sex roles and the world of work are not simply the results of high school and post-high-school experiences; they evolve from earliest childhood. As the individual moves through high school and beyond, these attitudes continue to evolve. Attitudes affect the alternatives the individual perceives as available and, ultimately, his/her choices. When a student seeks information about career options, completes an interest inventory, or discusses perceptions and aspirations with a counselor, sex-role attitudes will affect the outcome of the guidance activity.

Differential Sex-Role Perceptions

Children as young as 30-to-40 months are aware of the sex linkage of many common articles and prefer same-sex articles (Vener & Snyder, 1966). Second, sixth, and twelfth grade students, in a study by Stein and Smithell (1969), see certain skills as feminine and others as masculine. These standards become more definite from second to twelfth grade. The sex-age interaction suggests that changes in sex-role standards result primarily from learning what is and is not appropriate for one's own sex. In addition to changing over time, attitudes vary among students in one age group, according to a study of ninth-grade students' attitudes toward women's work roles by Entwisle and Greenberger (1972). Boys and girls differ in their conceptions of women's role. Both sexes disapprove of women holding men's jobs but boys consistently hold more traditional opinions. While black students are less opposed than white students to women working, they are just as negative toward women doing the same work as men. While daughters of blue-collar workers are more traditional than inner-city girls in their views of women's roles, high-IQ sons and daughters of blue-collar workers are the most nontraditional. The greatest difference between boys' and girls' views appears among middle-class white students, with high-IQ middle-class boys the most traditional.

Turner and Turner (1974) identify a similar pattern of differential sex-role attitudes among college students. No significant difference appears in the evaluations of "most women" by black men and women and white women. White men, however, evaluate women in significantly more negative terms than do white women on instrumentality (masculine) factors, but not differently on emotionality (feminine) factors. Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) examine the relationship between sex-role stereotypes and self-concepts among college students. Men and women appear to agree strongly about differences between the sexes. There are corresponding differences between self-concepts of the sexes and more frequent high evaluation of stereotypically masculine characteristics by both sexes. Women feel negative about their own worth, compared with men.

The emerging picture is one of pervasive stereotypic sex-role attitudes among high school and college students. Such attitudes circumscribe the options available to both sexes. Students' awareness of traditionally appropriate sex-roles, not only in terms of work but also in terms of personal characteristics, self-concepts, and self-esteem, indicates that high intergenerational stability of sex-role definitions exists (Vener & Snyder, 1966). This stability may work against egalitarianism between the sexes.

However, the literature offers some encouragement. Dorn (1970) finds that a majority of men and women think the double standard has declined and women have more egalitarian relationships with men. While both men and women agree that the ideal female role would include an egalitarian relationship with men, a companion-complement marriage with mutual decisions, and a life-style that allows a woman to develop to her full capacity, men have difficulty acknowledging this ideal in their own behavior. In a study of attitudes toward sex-role division in adult occupations across four age groups, Shepard and Hess (1975) find that, in every group except kindergarteners, females are significantly more "liberal" than males. In terms of age differences, both kindergarten and adult subjects are relatively traditional. The attitudes of today's adults have probably influenced their childrearing practices and, subsequently, their children's attitudes. Considerable nontraditionalism exists among eighth-grade and college students, an intergenerational break in sex-role attitudes that suggests positive implications for future childrearing practices and for more egalitarian conceptions of adult sex-roles.

Women's Perceptions of Men's Beliefs

As one's own sex-role perceptions affect one's attitudes, so also can one's beliefs about significant others' perceptions affect attitudes and behavior. Hawley (1971) hypothesizes that women are influenced in their career choice by what they believe men think is appropriate. Women's perceptions of men's views vary with career group and marital status. A series of studies (Steinmann, 1959, 1963; and Steinmann & Fox, 1966) that examine sex differences in perceptions of the "average woman" and the "ideal woman" shows that women believe the ideal woman should strive for a balance between self-realization and intrafamily nurturing. But women's view of men's ideal woman is significantly more family-oriented and personally subordinated. The authors note that some women do not seek work roles because they believe men prefer traditional homemakers, when in fact, men prefer as their ideal a balanced woman. They are especially positive about women being active outside the home to fulfill themselves. However, on specific statements about marriage and children, men are less certain and often contradict their general opinions. In a similar study of college students' perceptions of "average man" and "average woman" (Kaplan & Goldman, 1973), both men and women indicate that the average man views women in a more traditional manner than does the average woman. But women perceive a greater difference between female stereotypes held by men and women than men do. Men appear somewhat more conservative about women's role, but their attitudes may not be as conservative or restrictive as women believe. Some possible causes for women's misconception of men's perceptions are women's lower valuation of women's traits and the contradictory cues women receive from men.

The potential impact on women's behavior of such perceptions or misperceptions by women of men's attitudes is the concern of Farmer and Bohn (1970).

Women in their study complete the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB) under standard directions. Then, they take it again pretending that men have "come of age": that they like intelligent women, that men and women are promoted equally, and that raising a family is possible for a career woman. Career scales increase and homemaker scales decrease significantly under conflict-reducing directions. Attitudinal response does influence SVIB scores, and consequently may influence options and choices.

However, some variation appears among women's perceptions of male attitudes. Women preparing for careers in male-dominated areas (math, science) and counselors-in-training believe men make little differentiation in male-female work roles, behavior, or attitudes. But students preparing to teach believe men divide work, behavior, and attitudes into male and female categories (Hawley, 1972). Similarly, Vogel et al. (1970) finds that both men and women with employed mothers see fewer differences between masculine and feminine roles than those with homemaker mothers. Women's more than men's perceptions tend to be more strongly influenced by maternal employment. Maternal employment also tends to raise estimations of one's own sex about characteristics considered socially desirable for the opposite sex. Sex-role perceptions are affected by parental role behavior and by one's own occupational aspirations.

Attitudes Toward Professional Competency

Women's attitudes toward their professional competence are consistent and disturbing.Goldberg (1968) asks college women to evaluate six articles, two written by authors in traditionally male occupations, two by authors in traditionally female occupations and two in neutral occupations. Half the women were told that the authors were men; the other half were told that the identical article was authored by a woman. Regardless of professional area, works attributed to male authors are evaluated more highly by this group.

Baruch (1972), in a similar study of college women, finds that the tendency to devalue feminine competence is associated with having a non-working mother. Approval of a dual-life role (family and career) depends on mother's endorsement of the dual-role pattern and on how successfully a working mother has integrated the roles. Feather and Simon (1975) find a similar pattern among high-SES high school girls. In reacting to male and female success in various occupations, these girls overestimate the achievement of successful males relative to unsuccessful males and depreciate achievements of successful females relative to unsuccessful females. They view an easy course of study as the cause of female success, but attribute male success to ability. They see successful men as likely to continue to succeed, to be praised, and to be famous, and as unlikely to wonder if they are normal or to worry about studying too much. They believe the reverse is true about successful women.

These studies imply that success and achievement are masculine attributes. When a woman is successful, either the quality of her achievement is devalued or a multitude of negative consequences is associated with her success. Since success by women is not highly valued even by other women, it requires high self-motivation and an internalized reward system for women to seek success. Such attitudes toward success in competitive situations not only mitigate against women's desires to seek and to achieve success, but also establish a potential failure and demasculizing situation for men. Success defeminizes women; failure demasculizes men. Such attitudes are highly dysfunctional for any individual regardless of sex.

Vocational Preferences

Just as these characteristics are products of student's past experiences, student's career goal or preference is likely to grow and change as he/ she acquires new experiences. While the data on career preferences of different age groups are still sketchy, some trends important to counselors are emerging. In a study of fifth graders (Iglitzen, 1973), girls state varied career aspirations, although they are heavily weighted toward traditional female occupations. However, in describing a typical day in their future, these girls emphasize marriage and family activities, whereas boys focus on job or career. Girls show a limited awareness of what a career or dual-role orientation involves. In a study of kindergarten and sixth-grade students, both boys and girls prefer careers within the usual stereotypes (Schlossberg & Goodman, 1972a). Mowsesian (1972) documents shifts in educational and career aspirations among high school women from ninth and tenth to eleventh and twelfth grades. Among these women emphasis on four-year-college education decreases, while emphasis on two-year-college education increases. Occupational preferences shift from professional and semiprofessional areas to more evenly distributed preferences across all occupational categories. The proportion of women planning to marry doubles.

Harmon (1971) finds that the most persistent career preferences for college women (after housewife) are the typically feminine occupations of education and social service. The least persistent preferences involve occupations that require unusual talents, long periods of training, or short noncollege training. A small sample of college women contacted by Steinmann (1970) generally do not think work is very important. The majority plan either not to work or to work only if financially necessary. Differences in career preferences and expectations exist between black and white college women (Turner & McCaffery, 1974). Black women expect more occupational involvement than they prefer, while white women prefer more occupational involvement than they expect. Variables expressing external control predict level of career expectations for blacks, whereas variables expressing internal control predict high career expectations among whites. Differences between the groups may stem from socialization histories, necessitating the study of career antecedents separately by race. While none of these samples is representative, the studies suggest major hypotheses about women's career development and preferences which warrant further investigation. For example, at what age do individuals begin to solidify career plans? What types of information are involved and how can new information be supplied to the individual to broaden the alternatives? What variations in women's career development and preferences exist between geographic regions, SES groups, and racial groups? What unique socialization factors and environmental structures contribute to these variations? The results will carry major implications for counseling and guidance services for women.

SUMMARY

Sex-role perceptions, self-concept, and achievement motivation are internal variables that the individual brings to the guidance situation.

The level and direction of achievement motivation appear to be affected by sex-role definitions, orientations, and expectations. Sex-role orientation may cause individuals to be motivated to achieve only in sex-appropriate areas.

Childrearing practices conducive to feminine sex-typing are frequently antagonistic to those that lead to achievement-oriented behavior.

The National Longitudinal Study reveals that more girls (20 percent) than boys (13 percent) indicate no plans for education past high school graduation, thus pointing to lower educational aspirations. Other studies (Watley, 1971) indicate that women set lower aspirations and goals for themselves and that the views and expectations of others influence young women's orientation for academic endeavors (Crandall et al., 1964; Brindley, 1971; Entwisle & Greenberger, 1972).

Women and men seem to differ in self-esteem. The CIRP survey indicates that women rate themselves higher on "artistic ability," "cheerfulness," "understanding of others," "writing ability," and "sensitivity to criticism." Men rate themselves higher on academic and achievement traits, for example, "intellectual self-confidence," "originality," "mathematical ability," "public speaking ability," and "leadership."

Black men and women have lower self-ratings than white youth on "academic ability," "mathematical ability," "mechanical ability," and, to some extent, "originality." "Drive to achieve" and "intellectual self-confidence" are comparable. Black students rate themselves higher than white students on "popularity in general" and "popularity with the opposite sex." Black women rate themselves lower on "artistic ability" and "math ability" and higher on "drive to achieve," "popularity in general," "popularity with the opposite sex," "intellectual self-confidence," and "social self-confidence." Black women, compared with black men, rate themselves higher on "drive to achieve" but lower on "leadership," "math ability," "mechanical ability," "popularity with the opposite sex," and "intellectual and social self-confidence."

Older women rate themselves lower than younger college women on a number of the academic and achievement variables.

More high school and college men consider success in work an important objective, whereas a higher percentage of high school and college women views the right mate and family life an important life objective. Lots of money and a leadership role are more important for young boys than girls. These differences in values affect career choices and appropriate educational preparation.

Pervasive stereotypic sex-role attitudes among high school and college students may circumscribe available options. Boys and girls differ in their conceptions of women's roles. While both sexes disapprove of women holding men's jobs, boys consistently held more traditional opinions. Black students are less opposed to women working than are white students, but they are just as negative toward women doing the same work as men. Many social myths about women's place in society persist, especially among men. While acceptance of women working is increasing, career options are restricted largely to traditionally feminine areas. Women believe the ideal woman should strive for a balance between self-realization and intrafamily nurturing. But women's view of men's ideal woman is significantly more family-oriented and personally subordinated. This belief inhibits some women from seeking work roles because they think men prefer traditional homemakers. However, some evidence indicates that men prefer a balanced woman.

Success and achievement are considered masculine attributes. When a woman appears successful, either the quality of her achievement is devalued or a multitude of negative consequences is associated with her success. Since success by women is not highly valued even by other women, it requires high self-motivation and an internalized reward system for women to seek success.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE

The need for further research on differential achievement motivation between the sexes and among racial and ethnic groups is clear. Women and minorities, at this point, are not attaining academic degrees and occupational status--societal measures of achievement motivation--in proportion to their numbers. The causes must be pinpointed: Is it because women are achieving in other areas or because they have a low need to achieve? Do societal expectations inhibit their achievement strivings?

These issues have serious implications for guidance and counseling. If a woman is gratified through her current activities, her level of motivation may be satisfactory and, therefore, does not need to be the focus in guidance experiences. However, if internal or external barriers to women's achievement exist, these barriers and the methods to overcome them are important concerns for counselors. If these barriers are arbitrarily limiting women's self-understanding and opportunities for a satisfying life, the counselor is obligated to explore these barriers with women students. This same rationale applies to minority-group students.

Self-concept and its interrelationship with achievement is the focus of much research. Researchers hypothesize that lower self-esteem and less expectation of success account for women's lower aspirations and achievement. However, on most measures of self-esteem, women show at least as much satisfaction with themselves as men do. One's self-concept and life goals do have implications for the alternatives the individual considers and choices he/she makes about educational preparation and careers. Counselors must avoid stereotypes related to the nature and impact of self-concept. Some commonly held beliefs are myths; others lend themselves to interpretations that arbitrarily limit individual options. Counselors must expose these myths and stereotypes, expand knowledge about the nature and impact of a self-concept, and help students develop a self-concept congruent with their full potential.

TABLE 7 --Highest level of education 1972 high school seniors plan to attain, by sex and ethnic category: United States, 1972
(in perçentages)

Educational level	Sex		Ethnic category		
	Men	Women	White	Black	Hispanic
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Less than high school graduation	2	2	2	4	3
High school graduation	13	20	17	12	12
Vocational, technical, business or trade school	18	19	18	23	23
Junior college	12	14	13	11	18
Four-year college or university	38	36	38	38	34
Graduate or professional school	17	9	13	13	9

NOTE--Columns may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W.B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 8 --Type of college 1972 high school seniors plan to attend by sex, ethnic category and father's education: United States, 1972 (in percentages)

Students	College	
	Two-year	Four-year
Father less than H.S. graduate		
White women (N=337)	29	70
Black women (N=82)	19	76
White men (N=356)	27	68
Black men (N=58)	11	88
Father college graduate		
White women (N=777)	14	84
Black women (N=26)	15	82
White men (N=758)	12	85
Black men (N=11)	-	96

NOTE--The populations for tables and , students in academic programs, were chosen because they were adequately prepared for collegiate work if they wished to continue their education. Thus, SES and race could be examined on sex differences with respect to future education plans, controlling for academic preparation while in high school.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, Vol I and II, prepared by B.W. Thompson (1974).

TABLE 9 --Highest level of educational attainment planned by 1972 high school seniors, by sex, ethnic category, and father's education: United States, 1972

(in percentages)

Students	Vocational Training	Four-Year College
Father less than H.S. graduate		
White women (N=446)	18	49
Black women (N=87)	14	54
White men (N=416)	13	49
Black men (N=55)	15	58
Father college graduate		
White women (N=788)	4	65
Black women (N=23)	-	31
White men (N=787)	3	53
Black men (N=9)	-	38

NOTE--This table is based on tabulations of students in academic curricula. The Ns for black students are small, especially for men and women whose fathers are college graduates.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, Vol. I and II, prepared by B.W. Thompson (1974).

TABLE 10 --Degree aspirations of black high school seniors, by sex: United States, 1971 and 1974

(in percentages)

Degrees	1971 Men N=22,435	1971 Women N=32,285	1974 Men N=11,601	1974 Women N=18,532
Total	100	100	100	100
Technical certificate	9	7	7	6
Associate degree	5	9	5	10
Bachelors degree	33	32	38	34
Masters degree	31	34	26	28
Doctorate	10	9	9	9
M.D., D.D.S., or D.V.M.	6	5	7	7
LL.B. or J.D.	5	2	4	3
B.D.	1	-	1	-
Other degree	1	1	3	3

NOTE--Columns may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), A Nation Profile of Black Youth: The Class of 1971. Data on class of 1974 provided by NSSFNS in computer summary form.

TABLE 11--Degree aspirations of entering college freshmen: Trends over time, by sex: United States, 1966, 1970 and 1974
(in percentages)

Degrees	1966		1970		1974	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Bachelors	33	46	34	44	35	39
Masters	31	32	32	31	26	28
Doctorate	14	5	12	7	10	7
Professional	10	2	13	3	16	8

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCE: (1) American Council on Education, National Norms for Entering College Freshmen--Fall 1966, prepared by A.W. Astin, R. J. Panos and J.A. Creager (1967).

(2) American Council on Education, National Norms for Entering College Freshmen--Fall 1970, prepared by the staff of the Office of Research (1970).

(3) American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin, et al., (1974).

TABLE 12-Degree aspirations of black freshmen entering college by sex: United States, 1968, 1971

(in percentages)

Degrees	1968		1971	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Associate	4	5	4	7
Bachelors	31	31	28	28
Masters	33	43	32	38
Doctorate	19	14	15	13
Professional	6	3	11	6

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCE: (1) American Council on Education, The Black Student in American Colleges, prepared by A.E. Bayer (1969).

(2) American Council on Education, The Black College Freshman: Characteristics and Recent Trends, prepared by A.E. Bayer (1972).

TABLE 13 --Degree aspirations of entering college freshmen women by age group: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

	Age[1]	
Degrees	19 or under N=799,758	31 or above N=3,854
Associate	11	20
Bachelors	39	37
Masters	28	23
Doctorate	7	5
Professional Degree	8	3

[1] 96 percent of college entering women are 19 years of age or younger.

SOURCE: American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin, et al., (1974)

TABLE 14 --Career aspirations of entering college freshman: Trends over time, by sex: United States, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972 and 1974 (in percentages)

	1966		1968		1970		1972		1974		% of gains and losses 1966 to 1974	
Careers	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Artist (incl. performer)	5	9	4	8	5	8	5	8	5	7	0	-2
Businessman	19	3	18	3	17	4	15	5	18	9	-1	+6
Clergyman	1	.8	1	.2	1	.2	1	.2	1	.4	0	-.4
College Professor	2	2	1	.9	1	.9	.7	.6	.7	.8	-1.3	-1.2
Doctor (MD)	7	2	6	1	6	2	8	3	7	4	0	+2
Educator (secondary)	11	18	12	18	9	14	5	8	3	5	-8	-12
Elementary Teacher	18	16	1	19	.9	17	.7	11	.6	7	-.2	-9
Engineer	16	.2	15	.2	13	.4	10	.3	9	.8	-7	+.6
Farmer/ Forester	3	.2	3	.1	3	.4	5	.7	6	1	+3	+.8
Health (non-MD)[1]	3	7	3	6	3	6	5	10	6	13	+3	+6
Lawyer	7	.7	6	.6	6	1	7	2	5	2	-2	+1.3
Nurse	.1	5	.1	6	.1	9	.2	10	.3	10	+.2	+5
Research Scientist	5	2	4	2	4	2	3	2	3	1	-2	-1
Other[2]	16	31	17	24	19	25	21	25	25	27	+9	-4
Undecided	5	4	11	11	12	12	13	14	12	13	+7	+9

1. Health: Dietician, Home Economist, Lab Technician, Optometrist, Pharmacist Veterinarian

2. Other: Architect, Business (clerical), Psychologist, Programmer, Housewife, Policeman, Social Worker, Skilled other

NOTE Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCES: (1) American Council of Education, National Norms for Entering College Freshmen--Fall 1966, prepared by A.W. Astin, R.J. Panos and J.A. Creager (1967). (2) American Council of Education, National Norms for Entering College Freshmen--Fall 1968, prepared by J.A. Creager, et al., (1968). (3) American Council on Education, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1970, prepared by the staff of the Office of Research (1970). (4) American Council on Education, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1972, prepared by the staff of the Office of Research (1972). (5) American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin, et al., 1974.

TABLE 15 --Probable career choice of black high school seniors, by sex: United States, 1971 and 1974

(in percentages)

Careers	1971 Men N=22,435	1971 Women N=32,285	1974 Men N=11,601	1974 Women N=18,532
Artist (inc. performer)	8	6	12	9
Businessman	14	7	17	18
Clergyman	1	-	-	-
Doctor (medical)	6	4	7	7
Educator (all levels, includes counseling, teaching, & admin.)	12	22	8	11
Engineer	13	1	9	1
Farmer or forester	1	1	1	1
Health professional (non-M.D.)	3	7	5	10
Lawyer	7	3	7	4
Nurse	-	11	1	13
Scientist	3	1	9	8
Social or community worker	(not available)		3	6
Other career	33	39	20	12

SOURCE: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), A National Profile of Black Youth: The Class of 1971. Data on the class of 1974 provided by NSSFNS in computer summary form.

TABLE 16 --Career aspirations of black freshmen entering college, by sex: United States, 1968 and 1971.
(in percentages)

Careers	1968		1971	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Artist (inc. performer)	5	5	7	7
Businessman	19	7	20	9
Clergyman	1	-	1	-
College teacher	1	2	1	2
Doctor (M.D. or D.D.S.)	5	2	6	3
Educator (secondary)	15	16	8	10
Elementary teacher	3	17	2	11
Engineer	9	-	8	1
Farmer or forester	1	-	-	-
Health professional (non-M.D.)	3	6	3	6
Lawyer	6	1	9	3
Nurse	-	8	-	10
Research scientist	3	2	2	1
Other choice	23	29	23	29
Undecided	8	5	9	8

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCES:(1) American Council on Education, The Black Student in American Colleges, prepared by A.E. Bayer (1969).
(2) American Council on Education, The Black College Freshman: Characteristics and Recent Trends, prepared by A.E. Bayer (1972).

TABLE 17 --Career aspirations of entering college freshmen women, by age group: United States, 1974

(in percentages)

Careers	Age[1]	
	19 or under N=799,758	31 or above N=3,854
Artist (performer)	7	2
Businessman	9	11
Clergy or religious worker	--	--
Educator (college teacher)	1	1
Doctor (M.D. or D.D.S.)	4	1
Educator (secondary)	5	3
Educator (elementary)	7	5
Engineer	1	--
Farmer or forester	1	--
Health professional (non-M.D.)[2]	13	7
Lawyer	2	1
Nurse	10	29
Research scientist	1	1
Other occupation[3]	27	32
Undecided	13	7

---

[1] 96 percent of the freshmen women are 19 or under.

[2] This category includes optometrist; pharmacist or pharmacologist; psychologist (clinician or therapist only); technician or technologist (health); therapist (psysical, occupational, speech); veterinarian; home economist or dietician.

[3] Other includes secretary, clerical occupations, computer programer, homemaker (full-time), etc.

SOURCE: American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin,et al., (1974).

TABLE 18 --Views of 1972 high school seniors who 'agree strongly' or 'agree' with the following statements about themselves or life, by sex: United States, 1972
(in percentages)

Views	Sex	
	Men	Women
I take a positive attitude toward myself	88	84
Good luck is more important than hard work	11	7
I feel I am a person of worth	94	93
Everytime I try to get ahead, something or someone stops me	25	17
Planning only makes a person unhappy since plans hardly ever work	22	18
People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things	35	33
On the whole I am satisfied with myself	74	77
I am able to do things as well as most other people	94	90

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W.B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 19 --Very important life goals of 1972 high school seniors, by sex: United States, 1972
(in percentages)

Goals	Sex	
	Men	Women
Being successful in my line of work	86	83
Finding right person to marry and having a happy family life	79	85
Having strong friendships	80	78
Being able to find steady work	82	74
Being able to give my children better opportunities than I've had	67	67
Working to correct social and economic inequalities	23	31
Having lots of money	26	10
Getting away from this area of the country	14	15
Being a leader in my community	15	8
Living close to parents and relatives	7	9

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W. B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 20 --Above average self-ratings of entering college freshmen, by sex: United States, 1966, 1972 and 1974
(in percentages)

Traits	1966		1972		1974	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Academic ability	56	59	50	52	53	53
Athletic ability	45	24	46	24	51	26
Artistic ability	16	22	16	20	18	21
Cheerfulness	51	58	48	56	47	58
Defensiveness	28	28	27	27	27	28
Drive to achieve	56	58	51	54	60	60
Leadership ability	41	35	39	30	46	36
Mathematical ability	44	26	38	26	39	27
Mechanical ability	37	11	35	8	37	10
Originality	38	36	35	33	38	36
Political conservatism	18	12	10	7	13	8
Political liberalism	20	18	26	20	22	18
Popularity (general)	35	29	32	26	34	26
Popularity (with opposite sex)	32	25	30	24	33	26
Physical attractiveness	-	-	-	-	28	24
Public speaking ability	24	21	21	17	28	24
Self-confidence (intellectual)	41	31	39	30	46	35
Self-confidence (social)	33	26	30	25	37	31
Sensitivity to criticism	25	30	23	28	23	28
Stubborness	36	28	35	37	36	28
Understanding of others	55	66	58	67	61	71
Writing ability	26	29	27	29	29	32

[1] This item was not asked in 1966 or 1972.

NOTE: Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCE: (1) American Council on Education, National Norms for Entering College Freshmen--Fall 1966, prepared by A.W. Astin, R.J. Panos and J.A. Creager (1967). (2) American Council on Education, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1972, prepared by the staff of the Office of Research (1972). (3) American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin, et al., (1974).

TABLE 21 --Above average self-ratings of black freshmen entering college, by sex: United States, 1971
(in percentages)

Traits	Sex	
	Men	Women
Academic ability	30	30
Athletic ability	52	19
Artistic ability	15	11
Cheerfulness	55	61
Defensiveness	32	29
Drive to achieve	59	62
Leadership ability	43	32
Mathematical ability	21	14
Mechanical ability	20	5
Originality	31	32
Political conservatism	6	4
Political liberalism	23	18
Popularity (general)	38	32
Popularity with opposite sex	43	32
Public speaking ability	23	20
Self-confidence (intellectual)	43	33
Self-confidence (social)	41	33
Sensitivity to criticism	19	20
Stubbornness	22	28
Understanding of others	61	65
Writing ability	25	29

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCE: American Council on Education, The Black College Freshman: Characteristics and Recent Trends, prepared by A.E. Bayer (1972).

TABLE 22 --Above average self-ratings of entering college freshmen women by age group: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

Traits	Age[1]	
	19 or under N=799,758	31 or above N=3,854
Academic ability	53	35
Athletic ability	26	12
Artistic ability	21	21
Cheerfulness	58	52
Defensiveness	27	16
Drive to achieve	60	67
Leadership ability	36	36
Mathematical ability	27	13
Mechanical ability	10	12
Originality	36	31
Physical attractiveness	24	19
Political conservatism	8	9
Political liberalism	18	18
Popularity	26	20
Popularity with opposite sex	26	22
Public speaking ability	18	18
Self-confidence (intellectual)	35	35
Self-confidence (social)	31	35
Sensitivity to criticism	28	20
Stubborness	38	28
Understanding of others	71	66
Writing ability	32	25

---

[1] 96 percent of the freshmen women are 19 or under.

SOURCE: American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin, et al., (1974).

TABLE 23 --Person 1971 black high school seniors indicated they would most like to be, by sex: United States, 1971
(in percentages)

Persons	Men N=22,435	Women N=32,285
Political leaders	5	3
Businessmen	20	11
Military figures	3	1
Scientists	13	10
Artists, musicians, or writers	12	15
Athletes	26	3
Actors or entertainers	4	11
Civil rights leaders	7	12
Religious leaders	2	3
Educators	10	32

SOURCE: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), *A National Profile of Black Youth: The Class of 1971*.

TABLE 24 --Essential or very important life goals of entering college freshmen, by sex: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

Goals	Sex	
	Men	Women
Achieve in a performing art	10	13
Be an authority in my field	67	58
Obtain recognition from colleagues	43	35
Influence political structure	15	10
Influence social values	25	29
Raise a family	53	57
Have administrative responsibility	29	22
Be very well off financially	54	36
Help others in difficulty	53	70
Theoretical contribution to science	16	10
Writing original works	11	13
Creating artistic work	11	17
Be successful in my own business	48	28
Be involved in environmental clean-up	28	24
Develop philosophy of life	57	65
Participate in community action	25	30
Keep up with political affairs	39	34

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCE: American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin, et al., (1974).

TABLE 25 --Essential or very important life goals of black freshmen entering college, by sex: United States, 1968 and 1971

Goals	1968		1971	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Achieve in a performing art	12	12	15	15
Be an authority in my field	68	67	73	70
Obtain recognition from peers	55	45	55	47
Perform or compose music	10	6	-	-
Be an expert in finance	20	11	30	17
Be administratively responsible	33	28	35	27
Be very well-off financially	60	44	60	48
Help others in difficulty	61	75	67	74
Join Peace Corps or Vista	16	22	14	18
Become an outstanding athlete	29	5	-	-
Become community leader	38	24	31	22
Contribute to scientific theory	17	11	14	9
Write original works	12	14	14	15
Not be obligated to people	30	32	30	30
Create works of art	11	11	13	13
Keep up with political affairs	52	47	47	37
Succeed in my own bussiness	62	46	60	43
Develop a philosphy of life	80	85	68	68
Influence political structure	-	-	26	17
Influence social values	-	-	40	37
Raise a family	-	-	54	55
Have active social life	-	-	61	49
Have friends different from me	-	-	57	55
Help clean up environment	-	-	41	36
Participate in community action	-	-	41	40
Marry within next five years	-	-	22	36

NOTE--Percentages are based on weighted Ns representing the universe.

SOURCE: (1) American Council on Education, *The Black Student in American Colleges*, prepared by A.E. Bayer (1969). (2) American Council on Education, *The Black College Freshman: Characteristics and Recent Trends*, prepared by A.E. Bayer (1972).

TABLE 26 --Essential or very important life goals of college freshmen women, by age group: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

	Age[1]	
Goals	19 or under (N=799,758)	31 or above (N-3,854)
Achieve in a performing art	13	5
Be an authority in my field	58	52
Obtain recognition from colleagues	35	31
Influence political structure	10	11
Influence social values	29	36
Raise a family	57	73
Have administrative responsibility	22	28
Be very well off financially	36	33
Help others in difficulty	70	70
Theoretical contribution to science	10	12
Writing original works	13	11
Creating artistic work	17	16
Be successful in my own business	28	21
Be involved in environmental clean-up	24	25
Develop philosophy of life	65	75
Participate in community action	30	34
Keep up with political affairs	34	42

---

[1] 96 percent of the freshmen women are 19 or under

SOURCE: American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974, prepared by A.W. Astin, et al., (1974).

CHAPTER 4

COUNSELORS, THEIR TRAINERS, AND THEIR TRAINING

In addition to providing services, the counselor makes a unique personal contribution to the guidance situation. Unfortunately these include many potential sources for the bias that the counselor may bring to the counseling interaction. Biases may be due to demographic characteristics of the counselor. The counselor's sex or race may affect both the student's perception of the counselor and the counselor's perception of and attitude toward the student. These perceptions and attitudes may stem from experience due to race or sex or from exposure to theory, practices, and attitudes in graduate training. A counselor's instructors may also affect his/her outlook.

COUNSELING FACULTY

The new counselor, emerging from a graduate program, is vastly affected by interactions with instructors. The latter have an impact not only through the knowledge they transmit to their students, but also through their values and attitudes which, perhaps imperceptibly, "rub off."

Demographic variables affect individual attitudes, particularly on sensitive topics such as race, sex, and the expectations of minority or women students. Some surmise that sex, and possibly race, of professors affect interaction between faculty and student. Many writers, advocating a greater proportion of women on university faculties, point to the importance of role models in professional socialization. Almquist and Angrist (1971) find that career-oriented women are more affected by faculty members than non-career-oriented women. "Students do not become committed to a career field without some positive relationship with role models who display the skills, meet the demands, and consciously enjoy the pleasure to be obtained from that pursuit. The most readily available models for students are, first, their professors" (p.8).

That college professors clearly have attitudes about a student which depend on the latter's race or sex is discussed in chapter 2. Two studies--Christensen and Sedlacek (1972) and Garman and Platt (1974)--indicate that male and female students are viewed in a very stereotyped fashion. Given this information, the sex of those doing the training becomes an important consideration.

Haun (1974), a member of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, Commission for Women, presents data on the sex distribution of counselor educators. The primary source is the Counselor Education Directory, 1974 (Hollis & Wantz), which lists 94 percent of all counselor education institutions. Overall, 85 percent of counselor educators are men and a greater proportion of women than men faculty is found at the assistant professor level and below (49 percent and 32 percent, respectively). The proportion of women faculty employed is far smaller than the proportion of women earning doctorates in areas appropriate for counselor educators.

The APGA lists 39,000 active members. Designation of sex and race/ethnicity are optional on the membership blanks used for the annual survey of active members. Consequently, not all members complete those items. Of those designating sex, 48 percent are men, and 52 percent are women. The Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES), with 4,000 members, is a subdivision of APGA. Sixty-eight percent of that membership indicates sex on the membership form. Of this group, 1,800 or 67 percent are men, and 900 or 33 percent are women. Over half the ACES members indicate race: 90 percent white, 10 percent black.

For an exploratory study, the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) asked 100 counselor education programs for a list of faculty and required courses and an explanation of their training (see appendix D). Of the 26 programs that responded, two (8 percent) have a female department head. Of the 191 faculty, 158 (83 percent) are men.

If one accepts the premise that it is discriminatory for women to be unrepresented on the faculty, most of these programs are guilty of discrimination. Most are probably also guilty of perpetuating discrimination in that they do not provide role models for women students and may be passing on antiquated values and attitudes.

COUNSELOR TRAINING

Chapters 7, 8, and 9 review books in the guidance, counseling, and career development fields and the theories that predominate in each field. Most introductory guidance textbooks published in the 1960's pay little attention to sex roles, human development, and the development of women. These texts have been used through the years by counseling students, and what impact the lack of material on women has can only be guessed at. At the least this void creates a complete lack of awareness of special issues that relate to counseling women.

Textbooks

In 1972 the American Psychological Association (APA) formed a task force to examine sexism in graduate psychology. The focus soon narrowed to one aspect of graduate education: textbooks, specifically "whether, and if so, in what manner, there exist erroneous and harmful conceptions and representations of either sex" (Birk, et al., 1974, p. 1). Thirteen of the most frequently used texts, covering clinical, child development, and tests and measurement, were content analyzed. The task force concluded that both errors of omission and commission are frequent, representation of women scholars is limited, and women are less preferred as subjects of psychological research and as subject material. The texts show limited career roles for women, thereby restricting career options, and there is little discussion of sex roles or differences.

Tittle et al. (1974), in surveying tests and measurement textbooks for test bias, find that most books mention the problem of women, although not always in great detail. For example, Tyler (1971) includes a section on test fairness, and Anastasi (1968) considers sex differences in an analysis of group differences. Thorndike and Hagen (1969) discuss cultural influences on test scores. Finally, Thorndike (1971) notes the concern about fairness in tests for minority groups, but finds a lack of evidence of discriminatory use of tests in prediction. He shows a lack of concern with test bias and refers to students, instructors, teachers, and test developers as male.

Eight books were used by more than one program among the 26 in the exploratory study. While this number is not sufficient for a methodologically perfect study, it does allow an examination of textbooks commonly used to train counselors. Three of the most frequently assigned texts were chosen for content analysis: Shertzer and Stone (1971) Fundamentals of Guidance; Tyler (1969) The Work of the Counselor; and Gazda (1971) Group Counseling: A Developmental Approach. The three criteria used in the content analysis closely parallel some developed by the APA task force:

1. Proportion of content devoted to women and to men. Every tenth page in each book was divided into half pages, which were counted. The number

of half pages devoted to women in any context was tallied; the number devoted to men, including reference to masculine pronouns, was also tallied. The number of charts, pictures, and graphs referring to men, women, both, sex unspecified, and nonhuman subjects was counted.

2. Citations. The references to women and to men in the subject index were tallied.

3. Sex-associated descriptors. Descriptors for men and for women were listed, with even numbers of pages surveyed for both sexes. Sexist colloquialisms were noted.

While traditional English uses the masculine pronoun when sex is unknown or when either sex is meant, the effect of this practice must be questioned. For instance, the APA task force report Birk et al (1975) notes that it is difficult to know whether the writer using "he" or "men" is referring to specific men or "mankind". Is an author who refers to the physician as "he" doing so because a large proportion of physicians is male, or is the author using the generic "he"? The task force concludes that "perhaps. . .when 'she' is not included, 'she' is, indeed, not included." In any case, the report notes, since sophisticated readers cannot tell whether "he" refers to an individual man or people in general, neither can less sophisticated readers. They may get the impression "that women are less important. . .that there are fewer women in the world" of work and, whether their impressions are conscious or not, they may be subliminally perceived and stored.

Schneider and Hacker (1973) asked college students to select pictures that would represent topical titles for a sociology textbook. Two forms were used. Five of the 13 labels on one form contained "man-linked" labels (e.g., "Urban Man," "Political Man," "Industrial Man"), while the other form contained "non-man-linked" labels ("Urban Life," "Political Behavior," "Industrial Life"). The use of generic "man"led 64 percent of students receiving man-linked labels to submit pictures of men only, whereas only half of those receiving neutral titles submitted only pictures of men. The use of the masculine throughout counseling textbooks may have repercussions on counselors-in-training.

In the content analysis of the three texts, Shertzer and Stone had 110 half pages surveyed. Of this number, 4 (4 percent) referred to women and 57 (52 percent) to men. The Tyler volume consisted of 48 half pages: 45 (94 percent) described men and 2 (4 percent) women. Gazda included 52 half pages: 19 (37 percent) referred to men and 6 (11 percent) to women.

These texts usually refer to women in stereotypical terms. In Shertzer and Stone, they are seen as high school girls who value dating, dancing, social success, physical beauty, enticing manners, and clothes, while men are seen as high school boys who value athletics and car ownership. Boys are described as channelled into science, language study, or engineering without learning about choices; girls are described as playing 'school.' Tyler's descriptions are more stereotypical. Women are students and clients, men are colleagues. Women are receptionists or secretaries, contemplating divorce and looking for career options, dependent or "desperately (needing) a man to love her." Men are trying to decide between medicine and engineering careers, or whether to choose a career in dentistry; they enter the military service as immature boys and emerge more mature.

Gazda is more egalitarian. He refers to both men and women as colleagues. However, females are also Girl Scouts, mothers, and insecure students, while males, endowed with free will, are group leaders. The graphs and citations also reflect sex bias. Shertzer and Stone have 26 graphs or pictures in the pages surveyed. Of these, two represent men only, two represent both sexes, 12 are unspecified, and 10 are nonhuman subjects. Tyler has four pictures, one of men and three unspecified, while Gazda has 26 charts, four of men, eight of both sexes, nine unspecified, and five nonhuman subjects. While the graphs by no means represent a predominance of men, not one represents women only. When women are represented, there are always men represented too. Each book has graphs of men only.

The subject indices do not yield many topics that deal specifically with either sex, although when there are references to a particular sex, it is women. Two references to women are in Shertzer and Stone, one in Tyler. Possibly, the importance of highlighting women's experience in counseling materials is finally being understood.

In spite of the obvious shortcomings of textbooks in current use in guidance and counseling, it is still possible to teach a sex-fair course. Such a course could survey issues of concern in counseling women and critically examine the textbooks available in the field.

Curriculum

The survey of graduate departments, despite the small return, does permit an examination of the courses taught in a counseling curriculum. All but one program have rewritten their catalogs and other material descriptive of the curriculum to reflect sex neutrality of students and faculty. This revision is at least an effort to maintain sex fairness in recruiting students. Of the 26 programs, only one provides a course specifically on women as a special subpopulation.

In surveying the guidance and counseling divisions of all state departments of education, Pressley (1974) finds a paucity of courses on counseling girls and women. Only 12 programs offer such courses, yet 75 percent recommend that a course in counseling girls and women be offered within counselor education institutions. Finally, the National Longitudinal Study indicates the kinds of counseling courses practicing counselors have taken. While almost all counselors have one or more courses in educational, personal, and vocational counseling, less than half have similar courses on counseling minority-group members and only 23 percent have two or more courses on minorities. Undoubtedly, a miniscule number are exposed to a course on counseling women.

Degree Requirements

Credit requirements for a degree from the 26 programs in the exploratory study, analyzed in the absence of a representative sample, range from a low of 18 credits to a high of 90. All but three programs state explicitly that a practicum or internship is a requirement for graduation. The NLS survey of practicing counselors, however, indicates that supervised practice is quite limited. Almost half the practicing counselors have between 1 and 20 hours of supervision in practice counseling for education, personal, and vocational problems. As many as one-third have no supervised practice in vocational counseling, while approximately one-fourth have no practice in educational and personal counseling. In addition, most counselors have no supervised experience in minority-group counseling and, although data are not available, probably none in counseling women.

CERTIFICATION

States regulate entry to the counseling profession at the elementary and secondary level with counseling certification (Woellner, 1974). At the postsecondary level, control is exercised by professional associations and sometimes by state licensing boards. Data on the requirements of the latter are unavailable. The professional associations (including APA and APGA) set standards for approval of graduate training programs which usually include a supervised internship and specified courses.

A content analysis of state requirements for counseling certification indicates that, of the 50 states and the District of Columbia, 28 require a master's and 15 a bachelor's degree. The remaining states either list no specific degree requirements or no specific overall certification requirements for counselors. Moreover, most states do not specify that the degree be in guidance and counseling or in student personnel work. In addition to degree requirements (sometimes instead of them), 31 states require a specific number of hours of professional education with the median 21. Twenty states also require a practicum or supervised internship. Thirty-two require a teaching certificate, and 16 specifically mention that the counseling candidate must complete a median of 2.5 years of successful teaching before he/she is eligible to be a counselor.

The teaching requirement may result in counselors who are selected by principals as a reward for faithful service, sent back to school for the required courses, and then allowed to counsel students. They may have neither the natural skill, inclination, nor empathy to do so. Since most secondary school principals are men, it is possible that men may be selected more frequently than women to seek counseling certification.

PRACTITIONERS IN COUNSELING

Numerous studies indicate that the race and sex of practitioners in guidance and counseling are important to the process. How the job is structured and who the system allows into the counseling ranks also have implications for the effectiveness of counselors and how they interact with students.

APGA's membership breakdown by sex, which shows 52 percent women among active members, is probably heavily influenced by two divisions with an inordinately large female population. The American School Counselor's Association, concerned with primary and secondary schools, boasts a membership of 60 percent women. The National Catholic Guidance Conference (NCGC) is 52 percent women. Likewise, the Association for Nonwhite Concerns (ANC) is 60 percent women, probably due to a greater number of women professionals in the minority population. Except for these divisions, all others are more heavily represented by men. The Association for Counselor Education and Supervision has a 67 percent male membership, while the Association for Humanistic Education and Development (AHED) is 50 percent men (see Table 27).

- (Insert Table 27 about here)-

Except for the ANC, whose membership is 84 percent black, members of APGA divisions are overwhelmingly white. Overall, 88 percent of responding members are white, 11 percent black, and 1 percent other origins. However, only 47 percent indicate their racial membership. The majority membership of APGA divisions ranges from a high of 96 percent white in the NCGC to a low of 80 percent white in the AHED.

Other tallies of professional associations indicate similar ratios. Gottsegen and Gottsegen (1973) review the role of women in school psychology. Data from the National Association of School Psychologists' (NASP) membership for 1972 indicate that 48 percent of the members are women, yet few officials of the association are women. A 1973 tally of APA membership by division indicates that the division of school psychology has the second largest number of women members. A tally of two divisions listed in the 1975 APA membership directory, using first names to assign gender identification, reveals that the division of school psychology membership is 39 percent female, 61 percent male. This division probably encompasses counselors in the elementary and secondary schools. The division of counseling psychology, covering professionals in colleges and universities, has a much larger male representation: 82 percent male compared with 18 percent female. The tally was done for the overall membership and for the three membership categories separately (fellows, members, associates). While more men than women were fellows (the highest prestige elective membership category), the difference in proportions was small for both divisions. However, a much larger population of women does not have full membership in the divisions of school psychology or counseling psychology. Thus, it seems that women are underrepresented in the professional organizations. A survey in May 1974 of guidance and counseling divisions of all state departments of education indicates that among elementary counselors 35 percent are men, 65 percent are women, and among secondary counselors 57 percent are men, 43 percent are women (Pressley, ~~1975~~ 1974).

These data on sex representation among secondary school counselors are supported by the NLS counselor questionnaire results, which indicate a 58 percent male and a 42 percent female response. The NLS questionnaire is distributed to two counselors from each of over 1,100 schools. The sample is chosen randomly from a roster compiled by school principals. The questions deal primarily with work loads, counseling practices, and facilities.

Breakdown of the NLS data by region shows that a definite majority of counselors in the northeast, north central, and western regions are men, while in the South there are about even numbers of counselors of both sexes.

When asked about their ethnic background, an overwhelming number describe themselves as white (93 percent). Five percent are black, and less than 2 percent are other than black or white. Schools with the largest percentage of black counselors are in the South, in large cities, or in low-income areas.

Half the counselors who responded to the NLS questionnaire has three to nine years of full-time experience, while about a quarter has worked full-time less than three years, and a quarter ten or more years. While 29 percent has been at the same school between five and nine years, 44 percent has been there less than five years. Most counselors have experience in schools with minority students; in schools where the minority population is greater than 20 percent, less than a quarter has worked. Only 12 percent has worked in schools where English is not the primary language for many students.

What are secondary school counselors' main duties? Most counselors have a heavy load: 56 percent are assigned between 300 and 700 or more students (NLS, 1973). The greatest percentage of working time is spent in direct student contact (46 percent). Eighteen percent of time is spent in consultation with parents and school personnel, 17 percent is devoted to clerical work, and 10 percent to outside activities.

In terms of hours counseling, there are regional differences. Over half the counselors in the Northeast spend more than 20 hours a week counseling students, while in the South only about 30 percent spends that much time. These differences may be due to the affluence of the school districts: in the poor districts in the South the counselor may be required to do many other things besides counsel students.

What kinds of issues do counselors discuss with their students? Most frequently they discuss college plans (22 percent of the time), personal and family problems (17 percent), and career or vocational guidance (16 percent). A great majority advises students on how to find jobs (93 percent), and helps them with summer jobs (79 percent) or with part-time jobs during the school year (80 percent).

SUMMARY

A survey by Haun (~~1971~~ 1974) indicates that 85 percent of counselor educators are men and a greater proportion of female than male faculty is found at the assistant professor level and below. A far smaller proportion of women is employed than is earning doctorates in areas appropriate for counselor educators.

ACES membership data show that 68 percent of the membership indicates sex on the membership form. Of this group, 1,800 (67 percent) are men, 900 (33 percent) are women. Over half the members of ACES indicate race: 90 percent are white, 10 percent black.

A HERI survey of counselor education departments indicates that 2 of the 26 responding programs (8 percent) have a female department head. Of the 191 faculty teaching in those programs, 158 (83 percent) are men while 33 (17 percent) are women.

Textbooks used in training programs are often biased. A survey of graduate texts in psychology indicates that both errors of omission and commission are frequent. Representation of women scholars in texts is limited; women are less preferred as subjects of psychological research and as subject material in the books. Moreover, the texts show limited career roles associated with women, thereby restricting career options, and there is little discussion of sex differences or sex roles.

Tests and measurement textbooks usually mention test bias, although not in great detail.

Three commonly used counseling textbooks show bias in their coverage of women. In one book, 4 percent of the pages refer to women and 52 percent to men. Another volume has 94 percent of its pages describing men and 4 percent women. In a third book, 37 percent of the pages refer to men and 11 percent to women. The women in these texts are usually presented in stereotypical terms.

There is a paucity of courses on counseling girls and women. Only 12 programs in a nationwide survey (Pressley, 1974) offer such courses, yet 75 percent recommend that a course in counseling girls and women be offered. Among the 26 programs in the HERI survey, only one provides a course specifically on women as a special subpopulation. Nonetheless, all but one program have rewritten their catalogs and other material descriptive of the course of study to reflect sex neutrality of students and faculty. At least this indicates an effort to maintain sex fairness in recruiting students.

Few counselors have taken courses on counseling minority-group members, and most have no supervised experience with minority-group counseling.

Counseling certification requirements include: a teaching certificate (in 32 states), and several years of successful teaching (in 16 states). Successful teaching is required for counselors in the secondary schools.

Sex and race breakdowns of members of the counseling profession show that of those responding to an APGA membership survey, 52 percent are women and 48 percent men. Members of APGA divisions are overwhelmingly white. Women represent 48 percent of members of NASP, yet few officials of the association are women. APA's division of school psychology is 39 percent female, 61 percent male, while the division of counseling psychology is 82 percent male, a much larger male representation, and 18 percent female.

A survey of guidance and counseling divisions of all state departments of education shows that, among elementary counselors, 35 percent are men, 65 percent women, and among secondary counselors, 57 percent are men, 43 percent women (Pressley, 1974). Counselors responding to the NLS survey are 58 percent male and 42 percent female. When asked about their ethnic background, the majority (93 percent) describe themselves as white. Five percent are black, while less than 2 percent identify themselves as other than black or white.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

The sparsity of female counselor educators indicates that more should be hired. Since many more women earn doctorates in areas appropriate for counselor educators than are hired in such positions, unavailable qualified women should not be an issue. Affirmative action must be practiced. Women are often hired at the assistant professor level and later not given tenure. The implications (aside from the obvious inequity) are that students see powerful male department heads and weak female assistant professors and conclude that women will never rise beyong a certain level. This may discourage female students from aspiring to higher educational and career levels.

To encourage more women to enter the profession, more female students should be actively recruited for graduate programs in counseling. In the high schools, students of both sexes and of minority status should be exposed to counseling as a job possibility.

Since there is no book on guidance and counseling which brings together female psychology and counseling, new materials for those now being trained must be developed, as well as materials for those who have already been trained. Textbooks in present use in graduate training must be carefully reviewed, with guidelines provided to or by the publisher. Neuter syllogisms or the use of both masculine and feminine pronouns should be adopted as standard publishing practice.

Courses on counseling girls and women must be added to the counselor training curriculum. The likelihood that such courses will be well received is high, since most departments surveyed by Pressley (1974) indicate a desire for this type of course. Courses on minority students should also be encouraged. Supervision and field experience with both groups should be a requirement of the training program. All these courses and field experience should be required for counselor certification.

Researchers should gather information on minorities in the counseling field, particularly non-black minority members. The recipients of services and the system also need to be studied. State departments should set standards for training which would include antibias regulations. Professional associations should adopt guidelines for training programs to eliminate sex bias. The APA, for example, could withhold approval from programs of school and counseling psychology if they failed to meet established guidelines. The APGA and other professional guidance associations could publish statements encouraging nonsexist training.

TABLE 27 -Membership of Professional Guidance Associations, by sex and ethnic category

Guidance Associations		Active Members	Sex		Ethnic Category		
			Men	Women	White	Black	Other Origin
American Personnel and Guidance Association	Number	39,000	13,000	14,000	16,000	2,000	200
	Percent		48	52	88	11	1
American College Personnel Association	Number	9,000	3,500	2,800	4,000	500	
	Percent		56	44	89	11	
Association for Counselor Ed. & Supervision	Number	4,000	1,800	900	1,800	200	
	Percent		67	33	90	10	
National Vocational Guidance Association	Number	9,700	3,500	2,800	4,000	350	
	Percent		56	56	92	8	
Association for Humanistic Ed. & Development	Number	650	200	200	200	50	+ others
	Percent		50	50	80	20	
American School Counselors Association	Number	14,000	4,000	6,000	6,000	500	
	Percent		40	60	93	8	
American Rehabilitation Counselors	Number	3,000	1,200	800	1,200	75	
	Percent		60	40	94	6	
Association for Measurement & Evaluation in Guidance	Number	2,100	900	500	900	75	
	Percent		64	36	92	8	
National English Counselors Association	Number	1,200	450	350	500	65	
	Percent		56	44	88	12	
Association for Non-white Concerns	Number	1,600	500	750	150	800	
	Percent		40	60	16	84	
National Catholic Guidance Conference	Number	1,000	275	300	350	16	
	Percent		48	52	96	4	
Association for Specialists in Group Work	Number	1,000	450	300	450	25	
	Percent		60	40	95	5	
Public Offenders Counselors Association	Number	175	80	50	85	6	
	Percent		62	38	93	7	

NOTE: All percentages are based on the number of members specifying their sex and/or race on their membership blank. The overall response to an item inquiring about sex was 69%; 47% of respondents indicated their race.

SOURCE: Data for this table were collected by Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) staff in personal communications with the American Personnel and Guidance Association librarian (1975).

CHAPTER 5

COUNSELOR CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES

The race and sex of the counselor have implications for the counseling relationship and the attitudes counselors have toward the sexes. Many studies look at the effects of race independent of sex and at those of sex independent of race, which results in data gaps. Where possible, studies that look at both factors are presented, but some studies of one factor only are also included.

RACE AND SEX

Backner (1970) and Ewing (1974), who investigate the impact of counselors' race on student satisfaction with counseling, both discount the importance of counselor-client racial similarity. Backner conducted three studies of black and Puerto Rican students' attitudes toward ethnic similarity of their counselors. The first indicates that sex and age are more important for this group than race when selecting a counselor, while the second shows that students prefer counselors of similar ethnic background, but tend to be dissatisfied with their effectiveness as counselors. The third study concludes that the only students who favor a counselor of their own ethnic background are those already working with a counselor of the same background. Black and Puerto Rican students feel that similarity of ethnic background "doesn't matter" (Backner).

Ewing (1974), who has both black and white students rate counselors of both races, finds that black students rate both white and black counselors more favorably than do white students. Ratings of helpfulness differ for individual counselors but do not follow a racial line. Ewing finds little support for his hypothesis that the counselor needs to have the same racial or ethnic background as the client. Nor is there any support for a second hypothesis of differential effectiveness among counselors in counseling students with different race or ethnic backgrounds. Racial similarity is not the important dimension but, rather, the experiences of the counselor and the human qualities of both counselor and client (Ewing).

Peoples and Dell (1975) report no systematic effect of counselor race on observers' ratings of counselor's level of activity. Nonetheless, level of activity is significant, as is counselor effect. Active counselors are perceived as more helpful and competent than passive counselors. The Peoples and Dell study suffers from a limited generalizability: Since only one counselor of each race is involved, it is impossible to know whether results are due to individual differences or to counselor race.

Other studies show that black clients return in greater numbers to black counselors (Heffernon & Bruehl, 1971); that self-exploration for black students is greater with black counselors (Carkhuff & Pierce, 1967); and that black students give higher counselor effectiveness ratings to black counselors (Banks, Berenson & Carkhuff, 1967; Gardner, 1972).

Studies of the effect of counselors' sex on the counseling interaction are considerably more disparate. Some show no significant relationship between sex and variables, such as client satisfaction, various counselor behaviors, and counseling effectiveness. Others suggest that the relationship is interactive with status or experience.

Scher (1975) is interested in the relationship between verbal activity, sex of counselor and client, counselor experience, and perceived success of the counseling interaction. He uses videotapes of selected counseling interviews to assess level of verbal activity and pen and pencil measures completed by both client and counselor to assess the outcome of counseling interaction. He concludes that neither sex of the counselor nor of the client is significantly related to therapeutic outcome. Female clients tend to talk more than male clients, but this does not affect the outcome. Only experience of the counselor is significantly related to the outcome.

Another study, which investigates the relationship of client and counselor sex, experience of the counselor, and outcome of the interaction, finds that inexperienced counselors of both sexes are more empathic and active, and elicit more feeling when paired with same-sex clients (Hill, 1975). Experienced counselors of both sexes with a same-sex client focus more on feeling and are more empathic, while with an opposite-sex client they are more active and directive and do not focus on feeling. Hill shows that clients of women counselors report more satisfaction with their sessions than clients of male counselors, thereby somewhat contradicting Scher's finding.

Brooks (1973), interested in the relationship in a university setting of self-disclosure to sex of client and counselor, finds that client-counselor pairs containing a female show greater self-disclosure than all-male dyads. In addition, females disclose more to male therapists, and males disclose more to female therapists. Males reveal more to high-status interviewers (PhD level counselors), while females reveal more to low-status interviewers (counselors-in-training). Finally, high-status male interviewers elicit more self-disclosure from all clients than do low-status males, but status does not make any difference with female counselors.

That counselor status is an important dimension, particularly as it interacts with sex, is supported by Heilbrun (1971), who is interested in determining under which conditions women are most likely to drop out of therapy or counseling situations. After ascertaining which clients are of low-counseling and high-counseling readiness, he finds that the former prefer greater directiveness from men than from women therapists. However, when the counselor's status is low, low-readiness subjects prefer less directiveness from men than from women. With a high-status therapist, high-readiness women prefer less directive interviewers. A knowledge of the client's counseling-readiness, counselor's status, and amount of directiveness can lead to better counselor-client pairs and to smaller drop-out rates (Heilbrun).

Mezzano (1971), investigating attitudes of secondary school youngsters toward counselors of both sexes, finds that boys in every grade prefer male counselors, except in dealing with issues of home and family. Girls shift toward preference for male counselors as they get older. This increasing preference for male counselors may indicate that men have greater prestige in society (Mezzano).

Carter (1971) finds advantages in being a female therapist, arguing that women are socialized to display qualities necessary in any therapeutic interaction. These include empathy, warmth, and "natural" interviewing abilities. Male therapists-in-training must be resocialized to display these characteristics. She thinks there are several types of clients for whom women are better therapists than men, such as female hysterics, psychotic patients, female delinquents, and women experiencing developmental crises. Extrapolating from the latter two cases, female counselors might be most skilled with female behavior problems in the shcools and possibly with men as well as women who are experiencing developemntal crises.

Berman (1972) reports on women psychiatrists. Although psychiatrists and counselors have different orientations, her findings can be applied to women counselors. Women psychiatrists have different attitudes than men and are perceived by their patients in different ways. If women who seek female therapists are trying to rid themselves of traditional stereotypes of women as homebound and subservient, providing more female counselors in the schools might combat stereotypes of female students about their future role. Berman, reporting on a study of patients in a New York clinic, finds that a majority want a male therapist and feel that women are second best. Consequently, just increasing the number of female counselors in the schools will not necessarily result in an instantaneous change in attitudes toward women.

COUNSELOR ATTITUDES

Another characteristic of the counselor which affects the interaction is his/her attitude toward clients of both sexes. Could the knowledge of a person's sex affect the educational and occupational expectations, evaluations, and treatment by a counselor?

Research findings are contradictory. In a non-classic investigation, Broverman et al. (1970) finds that mental health clinicians hold a double standard for a mentally healthy man and woman, and that these views parallel sex-role stereotypes. While the adult and masculine concepts of mental health are not much different, the adult and feminine portraits of mental health are quite different. Maslin and Davis (1975), studying sex-role stereotyping among counselors-in-training, indicate that counselors-to-be are similar to Broverman's earlier sample of clinicians. Both men and women view healthy adults and healthy males in approximately the same fashion. Women expect healthy women to be the same as healthy men or healthy adults, whereas men expected healthy women to be more stereotypically feminine. The women's movement may account for the greater congruity of female subjects' responses (Maslin & Davis).

Brown and Hellinger (1975) conclude that therapists have ambivalent attitudes toward women, although female therapists have more contemporary attitudes toward women than male therapists. Moreover, therapists with less experience are more traditional in their views toward women.

Friedersdorf (~~1969~~ 1970) also finds sex bias on the part of counselors: Male counselors perceive college-bound girls as destined for traditional feminine occupations at the semi-skilled level, whereas female counselors perceive college-bound girls as interested in college-level occupations. Abramowitz, et al. (1975) report that women aspiring to medical school are judged more sternly by morally traditional than by liberal counselors. Traditional counselors consider that the psychoeducational history of female clients shows less psychological adjustment than that of male clients. Collins and Sedlacek (1974) show that college counselors perceive differently the reason that male and female clients initiate counseling. Men are seen as more likely to have vocational-educational problems, while women are seen as having emotional and social problems.

In the vocational counseling area, Thomas and Stewart (1971) find that women with deviate (traditionally masculine) career goals are not as highly approved by counselors as women with conforming goals. Women with "inappropriate" career goals are seen as needing further counseling. The link with experience persists again here, although this time it is the inexperienced women counselors who are more accepting, while inexperienced men are least accepting. Experienced counselors of both sexes are equally accepting.

Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1974) argue that counselors and clinicians hold stereotypes that are no different from the general population and that, regardless of sex, they are biased against women entering male fields. They propose a training model to eliminate counseling bias which includes: lectures and readings to raise the counselors' consciousness about women's role, consciousness raising sessions, audio and video role playing that emphasizes sex roles, and participation in developing special programs for women. In an earlier study, the authors find that a coached female client expressing ambivalence about a masculine career field is, in 81 percent of the cases, encouraged not to pursue this area.

Other studies present a somewhat different picture. Bingham and House (1973a) find that, in general, counselors express more positive than negative attitudes toward women and work, although more men than women indicate negative attitudes. In another study by the same authors (1973b), male counselors are less accurately informed than female counselors about the abilities and occupational alternatives available to women clients. The authors conclude that female counselors may be more clear, positive, and supportive of women clients.

Finally, Smith (1974) finds no evidence that sex or ethnic group has any effect on counselors' evaluation of academic potential, and that this is true for both male and female counselors. Variables much more potent than sex affect predictions of success, such as institutions chosen, aptitude, achievement, and personal traits of women.

SUMMARY

Race and sex affect counselor behavior and the attitudes that counselors hold toward the two sexes. Most studies show that counselor-client race similarity is not the important dimension but, rather, the experience of the counselor and the human qualities of both counselor and client. Similarly, neither sex of the counselor nor the client is significantly related to therapeutic outcome or to counseling effectiveness. Only the experience of the counselor is significantly related to the outcome.

In terms of attitudes, most mental health professionals are either negative or ambivalent toward women. Mental health clinicians, who have a double standard of mental health, hold different concepts of what constitutes a mentally healthy man and a mentally healthy woman. These concepts parallel sex-role stereotypes. Therapists have ambivalent attitudes toward women, although female therapists have more contemporary attitudes toward women than male therapists. Counselors with less experience are often more traditional in their views toward women.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Because counselors generally have stereotyped attitudes toward women who behave in nontraditional ways, many women who do not conform to the norm whether by choosing careers in engineering, by choosing not to marry, or by displaying traditionally masculine qualities such as assertiveness, may meet with resistance from their counselors. Therefore, all counselors need to examine their attitudes toward women so they do not unfairly discourage women from nontraditional lifestyles. The schools must provide consciousness-raising sessions for their staffs specifically designed to combat sex-stereotypic attitudes.

While current research indicates that counselors hold stereotypic attitudes toward the sexes, the impact of these attitudes on counseling and guidance activities is not clear. Future research should clarify the interrelationship of counselor attitudes and counselor behavior.

CHAPTER 6

COUNSELING MATERIALS

Optimally, sex bias in counseling interaction should be evaluated through observation. However, since studies of counseling interaction are not readily available, one must infer what takes place from a knowledge of counselors' training and characteristics, studies of counseling impacts and--perhaps most importantly--from the materials used in counseling and the underlying theoretical base.

TESTS AND INSTRUMENTS

Early in the century, vocational counseling consisted of disseminating information. An individual with the proper amount of information about careers and jobs was thought capable of making a rational decision about the future. Today the belief prevails that such decisions cannot be made without objective information about the individual's assets and limitations. Therefore, tests and instruments have been introduced.

Counselors often rely on tests to provide a more complete picture of the individual and to facilitate the collection of information and the exploration of alternatives. The five major types of tests are general mental ability, specific aptitude, achievement, interest, and personality tests.

Beginning in the midsixties, an awareness of the cultural bias of many tests in common use began to manifest itself. Many psychometricians now agree that tests do not function the same way for minority-group members as for middle-class whites. Research has looked at tests overall, considering their applicability to the criteria they must meet. Until recently, there was little research that scanned each test item individually for bias, thereby permitting an understanding of whether sex as well as racial bias might exist in many tests.

According to the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), every year 6.5 million achievement tests are used for selection and placement. This number is likely to increase. Tittle et al. (1974) caution against the possible discrimination against women in the development and use of educational tests in that these may reinforce sex-role stereotypes and restrict individual choice. That tests may have a great effect on the life of the test-taker is underscored by a study (Goslin, 1967) cited in Tittle et al.: Teachers tend to view standarized tests as accurate measure of potential, and achievement tests are seen as important determinants of subsequent academic success.

According to the National Institute of Education (NIE, 1975) guidelines for assessing sex bias in testing, bias may occur in tests at three levels: in the inventory itself, in the technical information, or in the interpretive information.

The Tittle et al. study was done to determine if bias arises in selecting items for tests, whether it is mainly a function of usage, such as in the use of generic pronouns, or whether it is a combination of both. An analysis of language usage in nine achievement test batteries indicates that all but one use more male than female nouns and pronouns: the tests are the California Achievement Tests, the Comparative Guidance and Placement Program, the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, the Iowa Tests of Educational Development, the Metropolitan Achievement Tests, the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress, the Science Research Associates Achievement Series, the Stanford Early School Achievement Test, and the Stanford Achievement Test. A sex-role stereotyping analysis of the same materials shows women portrayed exclusively as homemakers or in pursuit of hobbies. Young girls carry out female chores. In professional representation, some items imply that the majority of professions are closed to women and that teachers are women while professors, doctors, and company presidents are men. Tittle et al. conclude that most tests contain numerous sex-role stereotypes.

Tanney (1975), in reviewing literature on the impact of test language, finds no studies on the effect of the linguistic structure of items on test results. She notes that criticisms of the empirical development of interest inventories are much more damning.

Most frequently critiqued in recent years are interest inventories. Several educators (Prediger, 1972; Holland, 1974; D'Costa, 1969) claim interest inventories have multifold value: for the student they facilitate vocational exploration and broaden career choices; for the counselor they are a vehicle to understand student needs. Birk (1975) and others question whether interest inventories in their present form and usage provide a broadening and effective experience for women or whether socioeconomic status (SES) and demographic variables are more powerful in determining a student's choices.

INTEREST INVENTORIES

Tittle et al. (1974) argue that in interest inventories, several developers construct their tests on a empirical basis with little theoretical formulation to guide them. The empirical approach is also criticized for being based on the world as it is--a man's occupational world. This world limits the choices by limiting their occupational scales on several inventories and by reflecting the cultural stereotypes on others without questioning what this means for vocational counseling of women. The assumption is implicit that what is is equivalent to what should be.

Three widely used interest inventories are the Strong Vocational Interest Blank and its successor, the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory; the Kuder Occupational Interest Survey; and Holland's Self-Directed Search.

Strong Vocational Interest Blank

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB) has recently been revised and issued as the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII). However, the SVIB and its manual will probably be used for sometime. The SVIB is geared more toward professional than nonprofessional occupations. Subjects indicate whether they like, dislike, or are indifferent to 400 items covering such areas as occupational title, activities, and amusements. Results are reported as grades (A to C) on 55 occupational scales and 20 basic interest scales measuring interest in broader terms, such as mechanical, teaching, sales, and sports. The exact number of scales depends on the sex of the subject, since the inventory treats men and women differently from the start, using two separate test forms. While many items are identical on the two forms, Johansson (1975) reports that 40 percent of the items are unique to each sex and that this may lead to sex bias. Men and women may also differ in response to the same item.

The SVIB gained notoriety in the late sixties when it first came under attack for bias. The Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance (AMEG), studying the SVIB and other interest inventories, reported a definition of sex bias and some guidelines for its elimination (AMEG Commission, 1973). According to that report, "sex bias is that condition or provision which influences a person to limit his or her considerations of career opportunities solely on the basis of that person's sex."

Schlossberg and Goodman (1972b) suggest that occupational opportunity for both sexes is limited with interest inventories. The men's SVIB includes 33 occupations not listed for women. Several occupations on the women's form are for women. Several occupations on the women's form are of lower status and pay than those on the men's form and could result in women being directed to lower paying occupations.

Scoring requirements are different for each sex for an occupation that is listed on both forms. While many counselors now give both forms to women, this procedure is expensive and time consuming. Moreover, male clients are rarely, if ever, given both forms. Johansson and Harmon (1972) report that giving both forms to a single client can lead to erroneous interpretations. Since the development of the SVIB did not control for sexually stereotypic differences, taking the form for the opposite sex may depress scores on a given scale, because the test-taker rejects the sexually stereotypic items. The scores obtained are largely unpredictable. For example, Johansson (1975) notes that 67 percent of a given sample of women respond "like" to the occupation of interior decorator, compared with only 28 percent of men. This response is unusual for a man and similar to a criterion group of actors. A woman who responds "like" to that scale is indicating little that is unique to her gender. Johansson argues that good items can be written for both men and women by not referring to gender, but the problem of different response patterns by sex remains. A corollary problem is whether men and women in the same occupations have different interests. One way around this response set lies in the construction of the scales. Whereas a woman who takes the male form of the SVIB has her scores compared with men in general, rather than with a same-sex group, scales can be developed that compare male scores with a male criterion group and female scores with a female criterion group. However, Cole (1972) argues that there is enough similarity between the sexes in interest structure that generalizations beyond the status quo of an inventory are possible in exploring new career opportunities for both. Johansson concludes that is it necessary to report scores for all scales available and, when possible, base them on appropriate sex norms.

Huth (1973), in a review of recent studies using the SVIB women's form, points to an apparent bipolar split between traditional and nontraditional careers, arguing that the SVIB does not predict which women will become "career committed." Campbell (1973) suggests that this failure to differentiate women's interests is due to an inadequate understanding of the role of vocational interests in the career development of women. He notes that the career-homemaker dichotomy is unproductive and obscures individual differences within each group, differences important for counseling. Birk (1974) says that research that identifies a dimension of career conflict, such as homemaker vs. career, could stimulate counselors to explore areas during counseling which would be broadening to women clients.

Minority women have even greater problems with interest inventories. Gump and Rivers (1975) argues that interest inventories are of little practical value by themselves, yet when used with aptitude and achievement patterns, they can help certain students select a career pattern. They question whether minority women fit this category. Interest data pertaining to black women is more than scarce; the only study, using an early version of the SVIB, shows that response among black women on the interest scale for nurses equals that of a criterion group of white nurses. Gump and Rivers criticize the revised Strongs for not reporting criterion data for black women for any occupation. Consequently, the black woman who takes the SVIB has her responses compared with those of whites. Since the background experiences of the minority woman forces her to develop different interests than those developed by white men and women, Gump and Rivers argue that a mismatch of interests will result. Both the predictor (the inventory) and the criterion (the reference group) are biased against the minority woman. Harmon (1970) and Anderson and Lawlis (1972) also point to significantly different patterns of response on the SVIB for disadvantaged women.

Numerous counselors point to the manual and handbook as further sources of race and sex bias. Test administrators usually become familiar with the instrument through the manual, which provides a description, guidelines for usage, and data about scale construction and validation, The test administrator will probably read the manual to administer the inventory and interpret results in a standardized way.

Birk (1974) looks at the manuals of four interest inventories, noting that in varying degrees the materials contained both explicit suggestions and subtle implications that could effect women negatively. For example, Birk (1975) cites a passage from the SVIB manual: "Many young women do not have strong occupational interests, and they may score high only in certain 'premarital' occupations...In such cases, the selection of an area of training or an occupation should probably be based on practical considerations--fields that can be pursued part-time are easily resumed after periods of nonemployment, and are readily available in different locales" (Campbell, 1966, p. 13). This advice may indeed be taken to heart by guidance counselors. Birk recommends changes: a) develop a writing style that does not bias in favor of the masculine; b) use case studies that represent and portray both sexes equally in nonstereotypic roles; c) challenge the status quo by stating the right of all individuals to the full range of career options; and d) caution the test administrator about any limitations of options provided by the inventory and suggest ways to counteract these limitations.

Birk (1975) finds that the options for women in the SVIB manual are limited and that the status quo of women's roles is accepted throughout. She notes that in a 1969 supplement, the reader could easily forget that a woman's form of the SVIB exists, since the opening sentence is: "Men in different jobs have different interests." This sets the tone for the supplement, which uses the masculine pronoun throughout. Birk concludes that the manual must be revised to eliminate the impression that only men are worth discussing.

Related to bias in the manual is bias in the interest inventory instructions often provided in the manual. That instructions can affect the results of the inventory is supported by Farmer and Bohn (1970), who administered the SVIB-women to 25 married and 25 single women. Results indicate that, under instructions meant to reduce the level of home-career conflict, scores of career scales (author, artist, psychologist, lawyer, physician, life insurance sales) increase significantly and scores of homemaker scales (buyer, business education teacher, secretary, office worker, elementary school teacher, housewife, home economics teacher, dietician) decrease significantly over scores received under standard instructions.

Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory

Campbell (1973), in agreement with many critics, says that the SVIB "does tend to perpetuate stereotypic roles for men and women, at the expense of women, both by the kinds of items included...and the kind of information provided on the profile." He also concurs that the "statistics of 'What has been' should not be blindly followed to create "What will be.'" At the time of these statements, Campbell was revising the SVIB and entitled the revision the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (also known as the unisex Strong). The SCII is an improvement over the SVIB:

1. It eliminates the obvious bias of asking men and women different questions by combining items into one booklet.

2. It modifies the vocabulary to eliminate references to gender, except where gender is an integral feature of the word, in which case both versions are listed (for example, actor/actress).

3. It eliminates dated items, American culture-bound items, and weak items.

Tittle et al. (1974) still find some problems with the scale in that a number of occupations on the profile carry an "m" (male) and no equivalent "f" (female). This could still make it appear to women that occupations are viewed as male even though women receive a score for them.

Whitton (1975), reporting on reliability and validity of the SCII, shows that for male subjects, male and female occupational scales are equally good predictors of career possibilities. For female subjects, female occupational scales yield a higher (although not significantly higher) percentage of possible career choices. There appears to be a large gain in the percentage of career choices which results from consideration of all occupational scales rather than just same-sex scales. These findings reinforce the view that all subjects should receive scores on all occupational scales.

Kuder Occupational Interest Survey

The Kuder Occupational Interest Survey-Form DD (KOIS), intended for college-bound subjects, also comes under scrutiny. The KOIS consists of 100 forced-choice items. The results indicate the similarity of the person's interest to the interest of satisfied subjects for a variety of occupations and college majors (the criterion scale). Sixty occupational-based scales and 30 college-major-based scales are reported for the inventory. In the latest KOIS, male and female subjects respond to the same items, yet they are treated separately during the scale development. Scores are reported for both based on both-sex-criterion groups.

Most criticism about wording and restrictions in the women's choices which were relevant to the SVIB apply as well to the KOIS. The separate criterion groups of males and females again suggest that sex differences are important in occupations and in measuring interests. Johansson and Harmon (1972) suggest that good scales could be built by combining males and females in an occupation and comparing their item responses with those of a combined reference group. In a study reported in the 1966 manual, Kuder finds a high correlation between scores based on male and female criterion samples and those based on three samples of women. Therefore, reporting of scores for females based on male criterion samples is a valid procedure for representing their interests in fields where there are opportunitites for women, but criterion data are unavailable. If a woman enters a traditionally male field, she will be more satisfied if her interests resemble those of men in the occupation. Kuder, in the KOIS interpretive leaflet, considers it important to emphasize scores based on the subject's own sex and to use opposite-sex criterion scales for added insight into a subject's interests. If the highest scores are obtained on opposite-sex criterion scales, then this may indicate that good career options are not presented by same-sex scales.

Birk (1975) notes that the earlier version of the KOIS uses masculine pronouns throughout. She also points out that women's occupations and college-major scales are eliminated from male profiles, but women's profiles have rankings from both male and female scales. She wonders on what basis this procedure was adopted, noting that if this is not empirically validated, it should be so stated. She concludes that this version of the KOIS seems to accept the status quo.

Tittle et al. (1974) concentrate on bias in the earlier KOIS' interpretive leaflet, still in use, noting that the distinct status of women is reinforced by separate occupational and college-major scales. The profile of "Maxine Faulkner" does not allow for a woman with interests in both a traditionally male field and male college majors. While the new leaflet does make a change in this respect, the older leaflet will probably continue to impact on test-takers and counselors.

Tanney (1975) notes that the new KOIS and its new leaflet are improved. The new KOIS is generally free from gender-linked items, although a few do sneak in here and there. No longer are test-takers required to state whether they have ever engaged in or dislike particular activities, but instead are asked to indicate what they prefer. This kind of question neutralizes the effect of socialization on test-takers and focuses on their opportunities to engage in various activities.

Holland's Self-Directed Search

Holland's Self-Directed Search (SDS)--self-administered, self-scored, and self-interpreted--includes several different types of items: occupational daydreams, liked and disliked activities, competencies, and occupational preferences. Criticism of the SDS follows lines similar to that leveled at SVIB and KOIS.

One alleged problem is that the SDS is biased in its handling of interests and abilities, since women have not had sufficient opportunity to develop interests and abilities in some areas because career options are predicated on past experiences, which in the test are divided largely along sex lines. In a recent study, Gottfredson and Holland (1975) find that the activities rating is the least efficient predictor of future choice for women, while the competencies rating is least efficient for men. Tanney (1975) points out that activities listed under the "realistic" heading are those to which males are exposed in manual arts classes, while females have only limited exposure. Conversely, "conventional" (typing, office work) activities are probably experienced more frequently by females. Since the response categories are "like" or "dislike or never done," low scores on the "realistic" or "conventional" scales have different meanings, depending on the sex of the test-taker. Others have pointed to the sexist language in occupational titles.

Birk (1975) also criticizes the SDS manual, noting that it focuses on male users and takers: the manual accepts the status quo without an explanation that men tend to get one kind of score more frequently while women tend to get another. Birk points that the SDS instructions are problematic. The SDS compares the test-taker's initial daydream occupation with a summary code. For the man or woman with nonstereotyped occupational daydreams, this may lead to discrepant codes. How the counselor deals with this discrepancy must be carefully examined. Counselors may assume that the summary code is the more accurate of the two and, thus, encourage the explanation of stereotyped occupations for a client who initially has different goals.

Suggested Guidelines

Test bias has been quite well documented. Movement has occurred to revise some of the inventories. While the changes are not radical enough in many instances, there are proposals for further remedies. The NIE guidelines (1975) propose the following to eliminate bias in testing:

In the inventory itself:

1. The same form should be used for women and men unless it is empirically shown that separate forms minimize bias.
2. Scores should be given on all occupations for both women and men.
3. Item pools should reflect experiences and activities equally familiar to both sexes. If this is not possible, there should be a balance of activities familiar to each sex.
4. Occupational titles should be in gender-neutral terms, or both male and female titles should be present.
5. Use of the generic "he" should be eliminated.

In the technical information:

1. Sex composition of criterion and norm groups should be included in the description of these groups.

2. Criterion and norm data should be updated every five years.

3. The validity of interest inventories for minority groups should be investigated.

In the interpretive information:

1. Interpretive materials should point out that vocational interests and choices of men and owmen are influenced by many environmental and cultural factors.

2. The user's manual should state that all jobs are appropriate for qualified people of either sex and should attempt to dispel myths about women and men based on stereotypes.

Concerning minority test-takers, Gump and Rivers (1975) suggest the following guidelines:

1. Efforts to eliminate bias should be aimed as strenuously toward members of minority groups as toward whites.

2. Interest inventories should be administered early to minority women to present a larger array of occupations, since black women traditionally make early career decisions with a limited arary of occupations.

3. Student handbooks should include accurate information about proportions of minority men and women in various occupational roles.

4. Counselors should encourage minority students' consideration of broad occupational choices even when the number of minority-group members in given roles is low.

5. Publishers should establish response rates on homogeneous scales for minority men and women.

6. Normative groups for occupational scales should be examined to determine if minority groups are included. If so, their response patterns should be compared with the majority and item modification made where necessary.

7. New inventories appropriate for use with minority women should be developed.

Finally, innovative vocational counseling techniques are suggested. For instance, Dewey (1974) suggests a new instrument, the Non-Sexist Vocational Card Sort (NSVCS), developed because of the bias of traditional tests. Seventy-six occupations from the SVIB and the KOIS are typed onto 3x5 cards and coded according to Holland's six personality types. Occupations are chosen to represent a wide range of vocational values. Clients of both sexes sort the NSVCS cards into three piles: "Would not choose," "in question," and "might choose." They then sort the "would not choose" cards according to the reason they are not chosen. The clients' comments are recorded. The same step is followed with the "might choose" group. Finally, clients are asked if they feel any occupational areas are omitted from the 76 cards. If other occupations are mentioned, they are related to vocations already in the hierarchy. Dewey points out that it is difficult for any test to be completely nonsexist while using a language that is biased, but the NSVCS provides a process-oriented approach that gives a greater range of vocational choices to both sexes.

The technique focuses on individual differences rather than on differences by sex. According to Dewey, the technique is less sex-biased because the same vocational alternatives are offered to both sexes, the gender of occupational titles is neutralized, and the process orientation of the technique allows the counselor and the client to confront and explore sex-role biases as they emerge in the counseling session.

OTHER COUNSELING MATERIALS

College admissions manuals address themselves overwhelmingly to male individuals (Tittle et al., 1974). The ACT (American College Testing) Counselor's Handbook (1972-73 edition) mixes usage, referring to the student as he or his/her;

however, it is inconsistent. The sample reports and profiles used to illustrate the materials are of male cases for the most part. Using ACT on campus (1972-73 edition) refers to both the item writer and the student as "he." All sample profiles and examples are male. Finally, the Comparative Guidance and Placement Program of the CEEB refers consistently to counselor, faculty advisor, and students as male.

The importance of using both masculine and feminine word forms in counseling materials was discussed in chapter 4. In a study highlighting the impact of the referent's sex on career materials, Plost (1975) presents two unfamiliar occupations to 600 students in a slide-tape presentation. One occupation is depicted by a female model, the other by a male. Results indicate that both sexes prefer occupations presented by a like-sex model, underlining the importance of eliminating the generic "he" and of providing appropriate sex models for career and guidance materials.

Although information on contents of career guidance materials is scarce, several studies focus on illustrations in career materials. Birk, Cooper, and Tanney (1973) content analyze the 1972 edition of the Occupational Outlook Handbook (OOH), the 1972 Encyclopedia of Careers and Vocational Guidance (ECVG), vols. I and II, and selected career pamphlets. They find that career representatives in high-level positions (professional, technical, and managerial) are mostly men. Men predominate in all categories but one, clerical and sales, where 54 percent of pictures are of women. Men perform exciting and challenging tasks; they work autonomously, while women are assistants. Only 4 percent of women but 24 percent of men are pictures outdoors. More than one-quater (27 percent) of women are smiling in pictures, but only 7 percent of men. One-third of female representatives are depicted in a helping role, but only 12 percent of males. One-quarter of males are active but only 7 percent of females.

Birk, Cooper, and Tanney conclude that career illustrations do not accurately portray the presence of women and minorities in occupations. The illustrations may convey subtle but pervasive impressions of sex- and race-appropriate career aspirations. While occasionally women and some minorities are portrayed in nontraditional areas, men are too rarely shown in similarly nontraditional occupations.

Birk, Cooper, and Tanney (1975), in a follow-up study, suggest that women are also underrepresented in the 1974-75 OOH (compared with their numbers in the labor force), while members of ethnic minority groups are slightly overrepresented. Overall, there is little change between the two editions. There is overrepresentation in illustrations of one sex at the expense of the other. The same pattern of significant differences by sex but not by race appears in environmental setting, affect, theme, activity, and Dictionary of Occupational Title classification.

These findings are important in view of the popularity of OOH. Over 80,000 copies of the 1972-73 edition were distributed to high school, college, and educational guidance centers. Birk, Cooper, and Tanney assert that these illustrations may limit the horizons of women (and men) who use the OOH as a source of information. They recommend that counselors specifically counter the possible deleterious effects of these materials. For example, at the counseling center where two of the authors are employed, a notice is posted over career guidance materials warning about the possible bias of the materials, but assuring clients that counselors will atempt to make all options "explorable" (Birk, personal communication).

A content analysis of the 1974-75 ECVG and of the OOH, conducted in-house, yields similar results. Pictures of men only overrepresent their numbers in the labor force, while illustrations of women only very much underrepresent their participation. Only 11 percent of ECVG illustrations and 17 percent of OOH illustrations represent women only, compared with their representation of 39 percent in the labor force. Another 14 percent of pictures in ECVG and 10 percent in OOH represent both sexes. Blacks are underrepresented in ECVG (3 percent, compared with 11 percent in the labor force), but somewhat overrepresented in OOH (18 percent). (See Table 28 for other results.)

- Insert 28 About Here -

The ECVG was also analyzed for other variables. Women in illustrations are young more often than men (35 percent, compared with 13 percent) and less frequently middle-aged (59 percent, compared with 82 percent). While most illustrations are expressionless, of those that convey affect, over twice as many women are smiling. A much larger proportion of women are helping positions (45 percent, compared with 19 percent men). These three findings support the belief that women are often stereotypically represented as helpful, pleasant, and attractive. Contrary to expectation, a greater proportion of women are represented as active (84 percent, compared with 77 percent).

- Insert Table 29 About Here -

(See Table 29.)

The OOH results are parallel: More women than men are young (46 percent and 19 percent, respectively) and helping (36 percent and 17 percent, respectively); on the other hand, fewer women than men are smiling or passive. (See Table 30.)

- Insert Table 30 About Here -

A study of different career guidance materials, conducted by Vetter (1975), includes student materials in the Vocational Guidance Quarterly's current career literature bibliography, with publication dates of 1970 or later, and two bibliographies of commercial and noncommercial materials.

In the first sample of materials, 61 percent of illustrations are of men, 21 percent of women, and 18 percent of both. Twenty-two percent of men and 6 percent of women are pictured outdoors. Seven percent of men and 11 percent of women are black, while 2 percent of women and less than 1 percent of men are from other minority groups. Almost equal proportions of men and women are in professional careers.

In the second sample, 61 percent of the illustrations are of men, 21 percent of women, and 18 percent of both. Thirty-three percent of men and 4 percent of women are out of doors. Eleven percent of men and 15 percent of women are black, while 4 percent of men and 3 percent of women are members of other minority groups. Fifty percent of men and 67 percent of women are in professional occupations (compared with 17 percent and 16 percent in the labor force). Although 14 percent of women in the labor force are in operative positions, this is not illustrated. Twelve percent of illustrations of women show them in clerical positions, although 35 percent of women in the labor force are in such positions.

Vetter, commenting on whether career materials should illustrate the status quo or picture the future, suggests that since these materials are for future life planning, they should probably illustrate the future.

In a content analysis of the same materials, Vetter, Stockburger, and Brose (1974) find that men and women are both illustrated and mentioned in significantly different proportions in 10 general census categories of occupations. The pronoun "he" is used in the text more frequently than either "you" or "she," with "she" used the least frequently. Thirty-six percent of materials mention that women have different career patterns than men, and 30 percent mention working mothers. The authors contend that most materials use stereotypic representations of the sexes.

An exploratory study, conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute with six Los Angeles metropolitan area high schools, looks at the contents of high school college libraries. The schools, chosen for ethnic and socioeconomic representation, include two predominantly white middle-class and upper-middle class schools, one racially balanced middle-class school, one middle-class black school, one lower-class black school, and one predominantly Chicano lower-class school. The intent of the exploratory study was to find out what information is available in the schools in the absence of data on the content of guidance libraries.

HERI compiled lists of the most commonly available college reference materials, college guides, financial aid and scholarship informaiton, career and vocational materials: These include about 20 general college guides (such as Barron's guides), 10 references to financial aid and 6 general references in the college library; and 10 sets of career pamphlets, 35 general references, and 21 community college and vocational school catalogs in the career library. Overall, there is a great deal of variety in the reference materials schools include in both their college and career libraries. Most schools depend on free materials because funds for other materials are unavailable. Two career counselors at inner city high schools stressed that audiovisual aids and information were needed to contact a broader population of students. However, the cost of these materials and equipment was prohibitive. Another career counselor, agreeing that audiovisual aids are useful, finds that film strips present only stereotypic options. In all, the contents of these libraries are quite limited.

INSTITUTIONAL CATALOGS

College and vocational school catalogs comprise a major portion of materials in guidance and counseling offices, especially at the high school level. Catalog information affects students' perceptions of the academic environment they are about to enter. Since no studies deal specifically with catalogs, HERI compiled a list of college catalogs as part of the exploratory study.

The catalogs available at the low-SES, predominantly black high school represent the quantity and comprehensiveness of college catalogs available at the schools in the study, although many more catalogs are available at the middle-class white school than at any other. Of the 256 college catalogs in the reference library, 4 percent represent the most selective institutions (according to Barron's 1975 College Guide). Another 12 percent are from highly selective institutions, 13 percent very selective, 42 percent competitive, 13 percent least competitive, 1 percent were not competitive, and 6 percent from special schools (e.g., art schools). Four percent represent junior colleges and 5 percent are from predominantly black institutions. The variety of colleges is well represented by the college catalogs.

How well do the catalogs represent the universe of colleges on selectivity? A striking pattern emerges: There is an inverse relationship between the representativeness of the catalogs and the selectivity group to which the institutions belong. For example, 65 percent of the catalogs in the high school library are from the most selective colleges. Thirty-three percent are from very selective colleges, 8 percent from the least selective, and 3 percent from nonselective colleges. Only 1 percent of junior college catalogs are in this library.

These data may point to the elitist nature of the college advisement process. Students who consult these materials may feel that if they do not attend the most highly selective institutions, they have somehow failed. Also, in their attempt to recruit minority students, more highly selective institutions may volunteer their catalogs.

A content analysis of college catalogs (Table 31) was conducted in-house for a random sample of 100 colleges and 19 proprietary schools (see appendix B for the sample technique).

- Insert Table 31 About Here -

Half pages were tallied for each catalog and a percentage calculated for the half pages devoted to men (including the use of the masculine pronoun "he") and those devoted to women. Tabulations are separate for two-year and four-year institutions, proprietary schools, and single-sex institutions.

Overall illustrations and photographs by sex and departmental descriptions were also tabulated. Items descriptive of an environment favorable to women, such as special services for women students, extension or nondegree programs, women's studies, and women's athletic programs, were noted.

Overall, a far greater proportion of catalog content is devoted to men than to women. Four-year colleges and universities show the greatest disparity in their treatment of the sexes, (23 percent of half pages are devoted to men, less than 1 percent of women, the rest of the content refers to he/she, you, or to neither sex) followed by two-year institutions (16 percent and 2 percent, respectively). Proprietary catalogs provide the most equitable treatment: 14 percent of half pages are devoted to men, 9 percent to women.

Proprietary schools provide fewer special services for women than two- and four-year colleges, perhaps because these schools provide fewer student services in general and have few programs for any specific population. Colleges themselves do not frequently mention special services for women. Only 2 percent of four-year institutions and 11 percent of two-year colleges mentions women's centers. Six percent of four-year colleges has gynecologists (no two-year college mentions this service). Two percent of four-year colleges and 11 percent of two-year institutions have child care, and 6 percent of four-year and 11 percent of two-year colleges have a women's studies curriculum. Twice as many catalogs mention female as male varsity teams; about half the colleges mention a degree in women's physical education. While materials descriptive of departmental offerings do not unanimously specify the sex of students, those that do mention sex mention men (the range is from 12 percent male mentions in psychology to 43 percent in education). No department mentions females specifically.

The illustrations that accompany the catalog contents deal somewhat differently with men than women. Overall, more than one-third in all three types of institutional catalogs represents men only. Twenty-five percent of illustrations in four-year catalogs and 29 percent in two-year catalogs represent women only. The largest proportion of illustrations in proprietary catalogs represents women (45 percent). When illustrations are broken down by type or location of activity, some striking patterns emerge: Women are almost never illustrated in technical labs, alone, or in combination with men (in four-year catalogs), while men are infrequently shown in nursing pictures. Men are almost always the sole people pictured in contact sports, while women are most frequently pictured alone in dance or exercise activities. Professors and administrators are usually men.

Thus, while most institutions have an affirmative action statement in their catalogs (69 percent of four-year, 66 percent of two-year and 43 percent of proprietary), and while some mention sex specifically (46 percent, 22 percent, and 21 percent, respectively), few programs provided meet the needs of women. Except for the proprietary schools, few role models are provided either in faculty ranks or in administration. It is easy to make affirmative action statements. What counts is to back them up with behaviors, something that apparently few colleges are willing to do. What impact these catalogs have on students can only be surmised. It is likely that the limited vistas for women shown in this literature will convince many high school students that the options for women are indeed limited in postsecondary education.

SUMMARY

The tests, materials, and theories used by practicing counselors comprise perhaps the most concrete and best documented area showing bias. Among the overall findings:

Educational tests may reinforce sex-role stereotypes and restrict individual choice.

An analysis of nine achievement test batteries indicates that all but one uses a higher frequency of male than female nouns and pronouns. A sex-role stereotyping analysis of these materials shows women portrayed exclusively as homemakers or in pursuit of hobbies. Some items imply that the majority of professions are closed to women.

Test developers have based their instruments on the world as it is--a man's occupational world. This world limits the choices for women by limiting their occupational scales on several inventories and by reflecting the cultural stereotypes of women on others without questioning what this means to the vocational counseling of women. The assumption is implicit that what is is equivalent to what should be (Tittle et al., 1974).

Several interest inventories show indications of sex bias.

Numerous counselors have pointed to manuals and handbooks as further sources of race and sex bias. Bias in the interest inventory instructions often provided in the manual can also affect the results of the inventory.

Many college admissions manuals are biased, addressing themselves overwhelmingly to male individuals.

Content analysis of illustrations in career materials shows that such materials overwhelmingly stereotype the sexes.

College catalogs are also aimed primarily at men, with far greater proportions of content devoted to men than to women.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Several groups are already at work refining tests and career guidance materials: NIE, which has released guidelines; the AMEG/APGA group; individual test developers, such as Campbell and Kuder; the APA Task Force on Sexist Issues in Graduate Training; and such publishers as Scott-Foresman. That kind of change, however, is slow to come about, and it is likely that tests and materials will not change much in the near future.

In the interim, it is the counselors' responsibility to raise questions about every tool they use, whether it is an interest inventory, career brochure, college catalog, or the OOH. They must ask whether the information or the test reflects stereotypic roles for men and women, and whether the materials tend to close certain career options for either sex. They must take steps to counteract the stereotypic assumption of any materials. The counselor and the client must confront and explore sex-role biases as they emerge in counseling sessions and pursue avenues that are broadening rather than binding.

TABLE 28 --A content analysis of sex and race representation in career guidance materials: U.S. 1975

Category		Occupational Outlook Handbook (OOH)		Encyclopedia of Careers and Vocational Guidance		Labor Force Participation
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent
Sex	Men	121	73	242	75	61
	Women	29	17	35	11	39
	Both	16	10	45	14	
Ethnic Category	Whites	113	69	267	90	89
	Blacks	29	18	8	3	11
	Asians	1	< 1	1	< 1	
	Others	20	12	22	7	

SOURCE: Data were abstracted from an analysis of career guidance materials conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) staff (1975).

TABLE 29 --Content analysis of illustrations by sex in the *Encyclopedia of Careers and Vocational Guidance*, 1974-75: United States, 1975

Content category	Men		Women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Age				
Total	223	100	37	100
Young	29	13	13	35
Middle age	182	82	22	59
Old	12	5	2	5
Affect				
Total	253	100	44	100
Smiling	11	4	4	9
Sad	1	< 1	0	0
None	241	95	40	91
Activity level				
Total	221	100	38	100
Active	170	77	32	84
Passive	51	23	6	16
Type of Activity				
Total	265	100	51	100
Helping	50	19	23	45
Non-helping	215	81	28	55
Person(s) being helped				
Total	50	100	23	100
Men	30	60	9	39
Women	12	24	12	52
Both	8	16	2	9

NOTE--Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: Data were abstracted from an analysis of career guidance materials conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) staff (1975).

TABLE 30 --Content analysis of illustrations by sex in the Occupational Outlook Handbook, 1974-75: United States, 1975

Content Category	Men		Women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Age				
Total	113	100	26	100
Young	22	19	12	46
Middle age	82	73	14	54
Old	9	8	0	0
Affect				
Total	127	100	37	100
Smiling	8	6	1	3
Sad	2	2	1	3
None	117	92	35	94
Activity Level				
Total	124	100	27	100
Passive	10	8	1	4
Active	114	92	26	96
Type of Activity				
Total	139	100	35	100
Helping	24	17	12	34
Non-helping	115	83	23	66
Person(s) being helped				
Total	24	100	12	100
Men	17	71	1	8
Women	5	21	10	83
Both	2	8	1	8

NOTE--Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: Data were abstracted from an analysis of career guidance materials conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) staff (1975).

TABLE 31--A content analysis of institutional catalogs: United States, 1975
(in percentages)

Content category	Institutions		
	4-year colleges or universities	2-year colleges	Proprietary Institutes
Total number of ½ pages	3124	468	238
Percentage devoted to men	23	16	14
Percentage devoted to women	>1	2	9
Percentage of catalogs including			
Affirmative Action Statements (AAS)	64	66	43
'Sex' in AAS	46	22	21
'Age' in AAS	13	-	7
Percentage of catalogs mentioning			
Continuing Education	46	44	29
Nondegree students	66	33	7
Extension	30	22	7
Women's Resource Center	2	11	-
Gynecological services	6	-	-
Day/child care	2	11	-
Men's varsity teams	52	55	-
Women's varsity teams	26	22	-
Men's intramurals	22	22	-
Women's intramurals	16	22	-
Women's studies	6	11	-
Degree in Women's P.E.	49	44	-

TABLE 31 --A content analysis of institutional catalogs--continued

Content Category	4-Year Institutions	2-Year Institutions	Proprietary Institutions
Percentage of Administrators (by sex)			
President			
Men	98	100	85
Women	2	0	15
Vice-President			
Men	93	100	83
Women	7	0	17
Middle-Level administrators			
Men	82	75	47
Women	18	25	53
Deans			
Men	90	86	42
Women	10	14	58
Associate Dean			
Men	68	72	-
Women	32	28	-
Counseling service staff			
Men	60	68	-
Women	40	32	100
Percentage of Faculty (by sex)			
Total			
Men	76	70	59
Women	24	30	41
Full and associate			
Men	86	77	-
Women	14	31	-
Assistant and lecturer			
Men	66	69	-
Women	34	31	-
Unranked			
Men	55	35	59
Women	45	65	41

TABLE 31 --A content analysis of institutional catalogs--continued

Content Category	4-Year Institutions	2-Year Institutions	Proprietary Institutions
Departmental descriptions (references by sex)			
Math			
Men	22	33	-
Women	-	-	-
Both Men & Women	8	-	-
Unspecified	63	44	-
No mention	6	22	-
Biology			
Men	18	22	-
Women	-	-	-
Both Men & Women	8	-	-
Unspecified	69	44	-
No mention	4	33	-
Psychology			
Men	12	33	-
Women	-	-	-
Both Men & Women	2	-	-
Unspecified	82	33	-
No mention	4	33	-
English			
Men	41	11	-
Women	-	-	-
Both Men & Women	4	-	-
Unspecified	53	55	-
No mention	2	33	-
Business			
Men	14	22	-
Women	-	-	-
Both Men & Women	14	-	-
Unspecified	53	44	-
No mention	18	33	-
Education			
Men	43	22	-
Women	-	-	-
Both Men & Women	16	-	-
Unspecified	35	44	-
No mention	6	33	-

TABLE 31 --A content analysis of institutional catalogs--continued

Content Category	4-Year Institutions	2-Year Institutions	Proprietary Institutions
Illustrations (by sex)			
Percentage of men only	37	38	34
Percentage of women only	25	29	45
Percentage of men and women	37	33	22
Science labs			
Men	42	50	50
Women	6	-	50
Both	52	50	-
Business (Secretarial labs)			
Men	21	20	-
Women	29	20	78
Both	50	60	22
Auto/technical labs			
Men	60	100	100
Women	10	-	-
Both	30	-	-
Computer work			
Men	58	20	-
Women	8	40	100
Both	33	40	-
Art, Drama, Music			
Men	9	20	-
Women	15	-	50
Both	76	80	50
Home Economics			
Men	-	-	-
Women	80	-	-
Both	20	-	100
Radio station, Photography			
Men	78	50	100
Women	22	50	-
Both	-	-	-
Contact sports (football, hockey, soccer, basketball, baseball)			
Men	68	100	100
Women	4	-	-
Both	28	-	-
Noncontact sports (volleyball, softball, track, scuba, diving, riding)			
Men	32	20	67
Women	21	20	-
Both	46	60	33

TABLE 31 --A content analysis of institutional catalogs--continued

Content Category	4-Year Institutions	2-Year Institutions	Proprietary Institutions
Dance, other sports, exercise class			
Men	-	-	-
Women	67	100	100
Both	33	-	-
Professors			
Men	59	100	50
Women	5	-	10
Both	36	-	40
Administrators			
Men	100	-	83
Women	-	-	17
Both	-	-	-
Leisure (talking, studying student portraits, etc.)			
Men	5	-	-
Women	5	-	40
Both	90	100	60
Electronics, Drafting			
Men	40	100	50
Women	-	-	50
Both	60	-	-
Study, Class			
Men	5	-	10
Women	5	14	40
Both	90	86	50
Nursing			
Men	-	-	50
Women	60	100	50
Both	40	-	-
Child care, food service			
Men	27	33	100
Women	60	33	-
Both	13	33	-
Miscellaneous			
Men	54	50	17
Women	23	33	33
Both	23	17	50
At graduation			
Men	25	-	-
Women	6	-	-
Both	69	100	100

SOURCE: Data were abstracted from a content analysis of institutional catalogs conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) staff (1975).

CHAPTER 7

DEVELOPMENT OF GUIDANCE THEORY

From an historical perspective, the development and psychology of women, sex differences, and the effect of culturally imposed sex roles have been virtually excluded from treatment in the guidance literature. An acquaintance with the manner in which issues related to sex discrimination are treated in the guidance literature from 1930 through 1970 is basic to understanding programmatic and organizational aspects of a guidance and counseling system as it exists during this period.

A guidance theory more viable than those of earlier years could be based on developmental constructs within an educational framework. However, such an approach to guidance, while solving some problems of sex discrimination, raises others which must be explored.

EARLY WRITINGS (1930-1950)

Early writings on guidance define the limits of the field, provide the basis for training the first professional field workers, and provide models and guidelines for programs in the modern school. The literature reviewed here represents a particular period in the history of the guidance movement and documents the development of sex discrimination.

In the index of a book on teaching about vocational life, Lincoln (1937) makes no reference to sex differences, men, women, boys, girls, sex roles, human development, adolescence, or personality theory. One reference to values is limited to a half-page discussion of the "values of subjects and the problem of staying in school" (p. 38). The book is a sterile, theoretical, "should"-oriented prescription with little educational substance, psychological sensitivity to the problems of human development, or rationale for the role and function of guidance for young people.

Jones (1930), in a book that went through six revisions, makes two references to women. One is the dedication to his mother (second edition, 1934), the other reference is a one-line mention that the Boston Placement Bureau was founded in 1912, with help from the Children's Welfare League and the Women's Municipal League (p. 424).

Jones refers once to sex differences and sex roles in a section on occupational guidance (p. 353). The subject of a brief case study is a young woman named Jean, 18 years of age in the 12th grade with a "scholastic rank high." Jean can "afford to take two additional years of work" beyond her high school graduation. The first step in "guiding" her is to consider all occupations that require a high school education, which, in the system Jones is employing, includes business and clerical occupations and elementary teacher. Since Jean can continue with school, the guidance worker should check for "special consideration" those occupations that require one or two years of additional preparation. This procedure narrows her list to photographer, band musician, general electrician, telegrapher, nurse, bookkeeper, accountant, elementary school teacher, and telephone operator. These occupations must be studied with "reference to special abilities required, any sex limitations, and general desirability." Jones says that: "The limitations due to sex would at once probably narrow the selection by excluding band musician and general electrician although in exceptional cases these might be included" (p. 353).

The case history of Jean presents little information for a text on the principles of guidance which is supposed to include women. Jones demonstrates the limits of the conceptual approach of the 1930s.

Smith and Roos (1941) select as their theme, according to O'Gorman's preface, that "successful living is achieved by those students who live at the optimum of their potentiality" (p. vii). O'Gorman notes that "practical techniques for organizing and operating a guidance service are presented step by step." He points out the basic disciplines from which guidance practice derives its foundations:

> This book performs a unique function in that it is not only a guidance textbook but also a practical and immediate guide for guidance workers. It gleans from the field of measurement, the psychology of attitudes, facts of economics, and the practical procedures of "guidance in action" pertinent data which are essential for a guidance program. (p. viii)

The essentials of a guidance program, then, are drawn from measurement, "psychology of attitudes" (not totally clear), "facts of economics" (again not clear), and "guidance-in-action" practical procedures. The early roots of sex discrimination are found in such definitions of sources. Absent from the foundations of guidance are developmental psychology, the psychology of individual and sex differences, and educational psychology.

Smith and Roos systematically exclude from the table of contents and the index any reference to women, values, and sex roles. In the sole reference to sex, the authors state:

> Adolescence is a period of rapid growth during which the boy or girl is frequently awkward or embarrassed, and often self-conscious and sensitive....Often the sex glands are mature, but the sex functions are not established on an adult level; sometimes there is worry over sexual manifestations (p. 283).

It is difficult to imagine the practical use of this information for a potential counselor. It is unlikely that this misinformation would have done young people any harm if transmitted by their guidance worker, but it would not have helped them either.

This book is a text for persons becoming guidance counselors. It provides little rationale for guidance as a part of the educational process, or as a help to persons rethinking their attitudes toward men, women, human development, or sexual stereotypes. A useful first step would be to acknowledge those topics as important subject matter for the guidance movement.

The importance of these early books lies beyond their occasional misinformation: they serve collectively to define guidance as atheoretical, focused on technique, ancillary to education, and cookbook-oriented, and to define guidance workers as administrative functionaries. Human development is not presented as significant subject matter. The purposes of working with young people are offered in the most simplified terms.

Erickson (1947) offers three basic purposes for a guidance program: assisting pupils, assisting teachers, and encouraging new activities. His elaboration of these purposes is so vague that it is of no use for the subject matter of this report. Again, any reference to women, sex roles, or psychological theory in any pertinent form is absent from the index. In one reference to personality, Erickson notes that a student may be encouraged to take a personality or social adjustment inventory "depending on the complexity of the problem and extent of information already available" (p. 204).

The contents and point of view of these books from the thirties and forties indicate that sex discrimination has its roots in neglect of the topic, avoidance of female subject matter, and a narrow concept of the proper sources of guidance theory.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION TEXTS (1950-1965)

Two types of guidance books appear in large numbers during the fifties and sixties: books on organization and administration of guidance services (management and techniques are frequent synonyms) and books of readings.

Books on organization and administration are practice oriented, with chapters on information services, placement and follow-up, roles, and selection criteria.

Explaining the function of "guidance in the school," Hill (1965), in a book about management and improvement of guidance, says that, first, "the guidance function is concerned with helping children to mature in their ability to profit from the instructional efforts of the school" (p. 10), and second, the guidance function is concerned with "helping children mature in the processes and skills of choice making, especially as in regards to educational and vocational planning" (p. 11). With such encompassing functions applicable to both young women and men, only 2 pages of a 508-page book are devoted to women in the world of work. These pages contain two quotes on women. Hill introduces the first, from American Women by the President's Commission on the Status of Women, by saying that "what is said in this report about girls is equally applicable to many rural and Negro children."

> From infancy, roles held up to girls deflect talents into narrow channels. Among women of all levels of skills there is need for encouragement to develop broader ranges of aptitudes and carry them into higher education. Imaginative counseling can lift aspirations beyond stubbornly persistent assumptions about "women's roles" and "women's interests" and result in choices that have inner authenticity for their makers. (pp. 264-265)

Hill makes two comments on this quote. The first:

> Of course, it is well known that basic changes in opportunity must also be effected, in part by fair employment legislation and in part by basic changes in attitudes among employers, workers, unions, and trade associations. (p. 265)

The appearance of a call in a guidance text for "imaginative counseling" which can "lift aspirations" for women indicates that the field is beginning to treat the issues, however minimally.

The second comment by Hill is that:

> ...it should also be pointed out that continued education to the highest possible level is an oversimplified answer to the way in which better use is to be made of womanpower. (p. 265)

It is regrettable that Hill chooses to leave the discussion with the note that continued education is an "oversimplified answer."

The second of Hill's quotes is as important for its source as for its content: the 1964 report of the Committee on Guidance for Girls (CGG) of the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES). That such a committee existed in a group as influential in reducing and eliminating sex discrimination in guidance is noteworthy. The report, according to Hill "cautions that these important facts must be faced in any attempt at guidance for girls":

> First, attitudes toward women in the world of work are still producing limitations upon their acceptance and advancement.
>
> Second, "women" is not a simple, unified category; so generalizations about them are no more justified than to ignore individual differences in any group.
>
> Third, loss of jobs due to automation and other methods of reducing the need for manpower will no doubt affect women more than men.
>
> Fourth, the counseling of girls and women of various ages and conditions is not a process uniform in form or purpose. (p. 265)

Hill's comment on these observations is limited:

> Thus, efforts to conserve and utilize the talents of this admittedly under-used group will need to be most skillfully adapted to the complicating factors suggested by this committee's report. (p. 265)

Hill asks the rhetorical question, "What is the import of all this?" His answer is:

> Not only will youth need as much education as they can get, if they are to be employable, they will also need to plan the use of their lives with skill and insight. They will need to grow up

> learning how to meet change. Two or three important career changes are to be expected for the future of most of them. (p. 265)

Hill's answer illustrates the problem of sex bias in guidance literature. He switches abruptly from problems facing girls and women to generalizations about youth, missing the opportunity to raise significant issues and sharpen the consciousness of his readership.

This illustration of sex bias in its several facets is important because Hill is one of the most prolific, careful, influential scholars of the fifties and sixties. His treatment of sex bias reflects the attitudes of a generation of people and a growing profession. When problems of sex bias are presented, they are not of sufficient importance to accent and develop. The CGG report was not important enough to publish.

The material that Riccio and Zeran (1962) choose to cover and not to cover in a book on organization and administration of guidance services also gives a perspective on the literature that shapes the professional field. In an analysis of the individual, the authors say there are three kinds of activity in guidance: first, collection of essential information; second, filing and sorting this information; and third, the use of this information.

For classification, Zeran and Riccio divide the information into five sources. The first is data from an entrance interview conducted by the principal, counselor, or clerical worker. This information can be collected by anyone in addition to a counselor. The second source is previous school performance. The third is standardized instruments, described as tests or inventories of a quantitative nature. A fourth source is the students themselves, using either an autobiography or a personal-rating scale. How this information will serve the guidance process, is not quite clear but Zeran and Riccio say that "it seems logical that at any level that technique will be most effective when the student feels a need to sum up his existence and move forward" (p. 13).

The fifth source of information is an anecdotal record from "others." Several kinds of data are included, with peer ratings viewed as excellent supplements to data supplied by teachers. The authors consider student health information essential to the analysis of the individual.

Guidance, as conceived by Zeran and Riccio, is essentially sterile in terms of the counselor's role and its conception of the life of the client, the counselor, and the issues that bring them together. There is no rationale for using this information, or any clue about why it is important. There is no consideration of sex differences, which typically means a masculine point of view.

Neglect of sex discrimination in all its ramifications is heightened by the preoccupation of guidance programs with clerical and administrative duties. Thinking about guidance has developed largely in a theoretical vacuum with respect to developmental psychology or education. Nowhere in the authors' discussion of information services is there a theoretical model of human development to serve as a context to consider information use. Its absence serves only to perpetuate guidance as a floundering profession in a mass of test scores, information without utility, and clerical trivia.

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY TEXTBOOKS (1950-1970)

Introductory texts of the type written by Mathewson (1962), Miller, C. (1961), Miller, F. (1961), Lall~~is~~as, Wegner, and Zeran (1964), and Crow and Crow (1960) provide a perspective on the attention given to the guidance of girls and young women and to sex bias. They depart sharply from the literature of the thirties and forties: They are cognizant of psychological development, reflecting the increased understanding of human development that accompanied the growth of the behavioral and psychoanalytic approaches. The literature begins to reflect the impact of Carl Rogers and his associates who depart from both learning theory on the one hand and psychoanalysis on the other and emphasize the whole person.

The founding of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) in 1952 is important to guidance and counseling, as the association sponsors numerous journals that are a source of basic information about young people and guidance and serve as research forums for theory, and practice. During the fifties and sixties, the specialty areas of vocational guidance and career development, group guidance, and psychological testing increased in complexity, sophistication, and empirical base. Government support of guidance in the post-Sputnik era led to the training of many guidance workers by National Defense Educational Act training institutes.

BOOKS OF READINGS (1960-1975)

Books of readings appear in profusion during the sixties. In fact, their content effected the emergence of the APGA with its journals on guidance. Private publishers launched technical journals in guidance. These books of readings reflect, with increasing sophistication, the role of guidance in education and human development.

It is in the specialty literature that specific attention to women is first emphasized. Hansen and Peters (1971) devote a section to vocational guidance and career development of women, including chapters on changing cultural concepts of women's lives, women's ambition, a theory of occupational choice for women, and on counselors and girls. Bingham and House (1973a, 1973b) talk of counselors' attitudes toward women and work in general and the accuracy of information that counselors have about women in the world of work. Harvey and Whinfield (1973) consider extending Holland's theory to adult women.

DEVELOPING A VIABLE GUIDANCE THEORY

If guidance is seen as essentially atheoretical, how can the guidance profession develop a viable theory? First, it must view education as a context for intervention to promote growth, and then examine the directing constructs, particularly those psychological and educational assumptions from which school guidance practice can be derived. Allport (1965) identifies the challenge of such an approach, stating that "the trouble with our current theories of learning is not so much that they are wrong, but that they are partial" (p. 21).

Sprinthall (1971) identifies the difficulty of the task when he states that it is "necessary to avoid suggesting a single super-theory on the one hand while not falling into an atheoritical eclectism on the other hand" (p. vi).

Sprinthall's analysis is based in the following critique of guidance:

> More counselors performing a bewildering array of functions that have no educational rationale is an unhappy prospect at best. More counselors having their roles defined for them by outside forces and immediate exigencies is an even unhappier prospect because of the bitter irony involved in a role that purports to promote self-direction and control for students, but not for the counselors themselves.... Students are caught in the crosscurrents of the need for academic achievement at the possible expense of their genuineness as person, or are caught between the incongruities of high aspirations and low performance at the high school level. Such crosscurrents are producing an ever increasing number of psychological casualties. (p. 17)

What to do in this dilemma? Sprinthall advocates basing guidance on personal development and detailing the theoretical foundations for guidance and counseling as a means to promote human growth. The dilemma sharpens when Sprinthall states "we can expect to uncover neither a single set of principles, nor an integrated super-theory that will explain all of human behavior" (p. 19). The task is to work toward formulating sets of directing constructs and theoretical concepts while "at the same time recognizing the limits of that endeavor" (p. 19). Sex discrimination in guidance would be reduced by accepting Sprinthall's direction.

In the school setting the attitude toward the psychological development of students is, in Sprinthall's characterization, "laissez-faire." Consequently, psychological development is left to forces outside the school climate. Guidance has been so dominated by the service concept that it is ancillary rather than central to the education of children or adolescents. Guidance workers as ancillary personnel are also found in Armour (1969) and Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963). These authors point out how discriminatory guidance practice can be when it is ancillary to the educational process. Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) find that not only do counselors make basic decisions for students about their educational programs, but these decisions are also largely based on social-cultural sterectypes. The paradox of a counselor in a service-oriented position leads ultimately to an over-emphasis on the "technique of guidance rather than a concern with the purpose of the intervention" (p. 21).

Sprinthall recommends that guidance begin its effort to develop direct constructs by looking first toward mastery and efficacy as important organizing constructs for a guidance program. The theoretical base for such a directing construct is in White and Allport. White (1959) emphasizes self-mastery and competence as the central issue of human development. Allport (1961) views people as "being in the process of becoming" or as someone that "strives to to master, a fighter for end" (1960, p. 75).

To ground guidance practice in developmental theory, Sprinthall urges the guidance worker to move back into the mainstream of the educational process. Both Sprinthall (1971) and Shoben (1965) think guidance should move from providing disparate and incongruent services to a basic educational function. An "educative function for guidance would mean focusing on the major aspects of education, rather than simply existing along side it" (Sprinthall, 1971, p. 31). What such a viewpoint would mean for guidance services is a new field of focus, which Sprinthall sees as follows:

> Atmospheres for teaching and learning, questions of curriculum (what is it that we really want a child to "learn"), questions of school organization - all these are major educational domains and imply critical decisions that are presently discussed and judged without reference to guidance. (p.31)

This direction is not without pitfalls. Basing guidance on developmental theory squarely within an educative domain presents additional potential for sex discrimination.

LEGACY OF SEX DISCRIMINATION

The legacy of sex discrimination in guidance and counseling theory is pervasive. If guidance as a profession is to shed this legacy and build a more powerful and unbiased theory and practice, it must examine the relevant underpinnings from psychology and education.

Weisstein (1970) writes about the bias that permeates psychology in general and elements of personality theory in particular: "It is an implicit assumption that the area of psychology which concerns itself with personality has the onerous but necessary task of describing the limits of human possibility" (pp. 205-206).

The parallel of personality theory and guidance is quite close. First, the assumption is implicit that guidance theory relates directly to the "limits of human possibility," and to what, if anything, can be done to enhance and extend a person's capacity to approach those limits. Second, the consequence of the implicitness is that the assumption is rarely examined. The practice of guidance, based on the theory of guidance, therefore does not systematically test the consequences of the assumption. The "state of the art" of guidance theory is such that its apparent base is weak to begin with. With respect to women, it is even weaker.

Guidance and counseling theory, if it is based principally on psychology and education, also parallels psychological theory in the way the latter is characterized by Weisstein (1970): "Psychology has nothing to say about what women are really like; what they need and what they want, essentially, because psychology does not know" (p. 208). Her characterization is accurate when applied to guidance. The problem with the implicitness of assumptions about women is that the problem of ignorance is not confronted.

Confronted, guidance theory and practice are in no worse shape than psychological theory and practice with respect to women. Confronted, a general research plan can be outlined to lead to greater knowledge on which to base practice. Unconfronted, practice remains based on that special certainty that Weisstein notes "has strangled and deflected psychology so that it is relatively useless in describing, explaining, or predicting humans and their behavior" (pp. 207-208). As psychology has been "[illegible]cted" by its certain positions taken without support of evidence, so the practice of guidance has been warped--and with it the lives of people seeking guidance--by not examining its assumptions about women.

Weisstein summarizes psychology's failure to understand people and their actions by noting that the clinicians and psychiatrists who are generally the behavioral theoreticians have "essentially made up myths without any evidence to support these myths" (p. 209). She further notes that personality theory looks for inner traits when it should look at the social context of behavior.

Theoretical formulations about personality development learned in graduate school are irrelevant to the problems of minorities (Franklin, 1971) and women (Doherty, 1973). Doherty asks how personality theories relate to the rationale on which counselors base their methods for assisting clients. She states:

> If personality theories and methods of gathering data on selected psychological variables can be seriously questioned regarding their relevance and appropriateness for women, then it will also be necessary to question counseling methods and approaches based upon the theories. (p. 67)

Psychoanalytic theory goes well beyond Freud on feminine psychology. Erikson's (1963) notions of psychosocial development and identity, based on psychoanalysis, are an important base for developing a guidance theory rooted in human development. Given the undisputed importance of Erikson's work, the questions Doherty (1973) raises about the applicability of Erikson's theory to women are helpful in understanding why guidance cannot simply incorporate theories of personality and development without careful examination.

Doherty's first question is whether Erikson's model is essentially a male model and, therefore, inappropriate to understanding women. She raises a second question about having the stages of development based on polarities:

> Treating polarities, notably the masculine-feminine polarity, as bipolar ends of a unidimensional scale has retarded sophisticated conceptualizations of their dynamic interaction and, in the case of our understanding of the sexes, fostered a view of human development constricting to both sexes. (pp. 69-70)

Doherty questions Erikson's conceptions of feminine identity and inner space. She also questions the relevance of Erikson's work, noting that when the lives of women are studied with the same seriousness as the lives of men, the chances of understanding women's search for identity are greater. What exists is "virtually an unexplored area." Doherty says: "That a theory of personality should be based upon the development of the man and that the development of the woman must be contrasted with it cannot be considered a theory of personality" (p. 71). She offers an alternative: "A personality theory describing the development of the human person, both man and woman, and the differential biological and social influences affecting both of them" (p. 71).

Basically this critique says that one of the most sophisticated theories of human development --the conceptual base for many guidance professionals-- is quite inappropriate. According to Doherty, it is quite "legitimate to raise the question of how valid for understanding women is the theory which deals with its central theme of identity as it is observed in men and seeks to explain identity in women through some accommodation of the theory" (p. 70).

The development of the man "is for Erikson prototypical of the human." To follow Doherty is to reject as a basis for guidance theory the usual conceptualizations of human development as they exist in personality theory. Instead, the search for a theoretical base would be reformulated in terms of the development of persons.

Concerning Erikson's use of polarities, Doherty says, "The psychologist's tendency to define human as male reflects the tendency to conceptualize the masculine-feminine polarity in the same unidimensional fashion as other psychological polarities" (p. 71). The dichotomies in Erikson's theory do have a directional component of positive behavior (basic trust vs. basic mistrust; autonomy vs. shame and doubt). But these polarities are not scrutinized in a consideration of appropriate behavior for boys and girls and men and women on each dimension. Whether or not the assumptions underlying each polarity are based on a model of men rather than a model of persons proves quite a limiting factor when the polarities become a component of the theory base for a helping profession such as guidance.

About Erikson's identification of womanhood and inner space, Doherty says:

> One reason Erikson's view of women is considered by many to be, at best adequate, at worst a distortion, is his virtual identification of woman with mother. His formulations are not unlike Freud's identification of woman with her body. (p. 72)

While Erikson (1968) indicates his sensitivity to a feminist critique of his theory, Doherty concludes by labeling his model of personality as male. If one accepts the Doherty critique, the implication for a practitioner basing his/her work on Erickson is that the theory is quite thoroughly encrusted in sex bias. Practice cannot be based on this theory without rigorous examination. Personality theory is encrusted in sex bias and of limited utility in working with women clients.

Another source of bias is the attitudinal base in the culture which determines socially acceptable behavior. Weisstein (1970) finds women characterized in psychology as:

> ...inconsistent, emotionally unstable, lacking in a strong conscience or super-ego, weaker, nurturant rather than productive, intuitive rather than intelligent, and, if they are at all "normal", suited to the home and the family. In short, the list adds up to a typical minority group stereotype of inferiority. (p. 221)

This view is certainly consistent with Broverman et al. on the sex-role stereotypes of mental health workers, or the Chesler (1971) observation that "the ethic of mental health is masculine in our culture."

Another approach to guidance literature is to look at what it omits. Largely neglected are effects on the future of high school women of such social changes as divorce rates, sexuality and premarital sexual behavior, population trends, debate over family size, and the problems of parenting. Of the eight books recommended by Newsweek in its September 22, 1975, special section, "Who's Raising the Kids?", not one is written by anyone in the guidance movement and only one is written by a psychologist (Thomas Gordon, incorrectly cited as an M.D.).

That such a major area of human endeavor is largely omitted in the guidance literature is significant: First, the school years offer an exceptional opportunity to plan one's life style, considering the alternatives open today. Not considering such material in the school curriculum for whatever reason deprives both sexes of the opportunity to rethink their assumptions of life planning and responsibilities. Second, since parenting is considered by society as the mother's domain, lack of treatment in the literature is inherently discriminatory.

A major weakness of research in guidance and sex bias is its conceptualization of the various criterion measures. An assumption of this report is that sex discrimination will exist until research includes variables related to differential and changing sex roles, and some image of what is *desirable* for both men and women to be occupationally and personally.

Laws (1975) cites a classic example by Glenn (1959) of failure to conceptualize a guidance related investigation (the focus is on attitudes toward working wives). Subjects responding to the survey say:

> it is all right for a married woman to work for the following reasons (in order of endorsement rates):

To provide the necessities of living	87.5	percent
To pay debts	67.6	"
To help husband finish education	63.2	"
To buy needed equipment	51.8	"
To provide education for children	51.8	'
To buy a home	46.6	"
To care for dependent relatives	46.4	"
Dislikes housekeeping	17.0	"
Homemaking doesn't keep her busy or interested	17.0	"
Education wasted if not used	15.8	"
Working is more respectable	8.5	"

Laws notes that "it is of interest that no reason was presented whose content referred to self-actualization or identity needs of the hypothetical wife" (p. 95).

While times may have changed since Glenn's survey, the sex bias in research at a conceptual level in his study precludes the development of items to sample respondents' views toward women working for reasons of personal growth and satisfaction.

Laws (1975) comments on sex bias in interpreting data related to women's careers. In a study of the relationship between juvenile delinquency and maternal employment, Glueck and Glueck (1957) find no association and conclude:

> As more and more *enticements* in the way of financial gain, excitement and independence from the husband are offered married women to *lure* them from their domestic duties, the *problem* is becoming more widespread and acute (Emphasis added by Laws). (p. 95)

Laws notes that "Implicit in the maternal employment = maternal deprivation hypothesis, of course, is the normative expectation that the child's interest shall take precedence over the mother's" (p. 95). Since Glueck and Glueck find no relationship between delinquency and maternal employment, their use of "enticements," "lure," and "problem" reflect their own expectations, a prism through which their data are examined.

They also reveal another shortcoming: women's working is not conceptualized as having identity and growth components. This bias is recurrent in the guidance literature.

Laws (1975) aptly comments on the bias against working women:

> We have seen that maternal employment inflicts no observable damage on children, though the reverse cannot be said. However, there remains a punitive tone in the discussions, the sense of a wrong not righted by the evidence of unblemished babies. The working mother is no problem for her child; however, she remains one for her husband. (pp. 95-96)

The effect of a woman's career on her marriage is explored less in the guidance than in the marriage literature (Laws, 1975, pp. 96-98). As a result of bias, the literature has left unconsidered, within the mainstream of guidance theory and practice, many aspects of the human condition which profoundly influence the lives and development of both sexes.

SUMMARY

The major implications for sex discrimination of the guidance literature over the years are:

Guidance theory is based largely on psychological theory, which is heavily encrusted with sexist assumptions.

Implicit assumptions about women are made without any data to back them up. The practice of guidance is warped because its assumptions about women are not examined.

Theories of personality and development are incorporated verbatim into guidance theory. Yet, theoretical formulations learned about personality development in graduate school are irrelevant to the problems of minorities (Franklin, 1971) and women (Doherty, 1973).

Another source of bias is the attitudinal base in the culture which determines socially acceptable behavior.

Most guidance textbooks make no reference to sex differences, men, women, boys, girls, sex roles, human development, adolescence, or personality theory. When problems of sex bias are presented, they are not of sufficient importance to accent and to develop. One excellent report on guidance for girls is not deemed important enough to publish.

The effect of a woman's employment and career on her marriage is explored less in the guidance than in the marriage literature. Women's working is not generally conceptualized in guidance practice as having identity and growth components. Many aspects of the human condition which profoundly influence the lives and shape the development of both men and women are left unconsidered.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Counselors' consciousness of sex bias is low to nonexistent, especially among those trained prior to the 1970's. Consequently, consciousness raising must be conducted with counselors to point out that they are using sex-biased theory in their work. It must be made clear that they must examine carefully any theory they use in their work, as well as the research underlying it.

Researchers must develop on a non-sex-bias basis a body of research on guidance and counseling, as well as a group of sex-fair theories.

CHAPTER 8

SEX BIAS IN COUNSELING THEORIES

Much guidance work depends on the theoretical base that counselors have incorporated into their professional outlook. An examination of the various theories that counselors are exposed to and use provides insight into ways that counseling may prove discriminatory.

SOURCES OF SEX BIAS

Sex bias in guidance and counseling theory today is a product of the combined effects of (a) the theoretical legacy of Freud, (b) the biological determinist view of gender and behavior implicit in nonpsychoanalytic theories, and (c) the therapeutic mission of traditional counseling, which is to help clients adjust to and perform certain cultural roles. The inadequacies and inaccuracies of Freud's postulations about the psychology of women are critiqued at length (Miller, 1973; Strause, 1974; Mitchell, 1974; Carlson, 1972).

While non-Freudian theories reject a number of Freud's basic formulations of personality development, most assume a biological basis for sex differences in behavior with little or no thought that the culture might be the source of sex-role behaviors. Instead, they treat gender-related behavioral differences as confirmation for the biological basis of behavior.

Conceptualizing counseling outcome as successful acquisition of and adjustment to culturally defined sex-role behaviors establishes guidance and counseling as a major perpetrator of sexist socialization. Kravetz (1975), in her critique of psychotherapy, comments: "Psychotherapy is viewed as an adjustment-oriented system, helping women to understand, accept, and adjust to traditional roles and norms" (p. 2). The theoretical assumption that the problem lies within the individual rather than within society (or at least that a portion of it is society-based) becomes a further source of bias in theory. The sex bias in personality theory has been explored in detail (Doherty, 1973; Carlson, 1972; Weisstein, 1971; Shainess, 1970). Suffice it to say that counseling theory must rest on unbiased assumptions if it is to be unbiased.

The effects of sex bias in counseling are apparent in research, applications and goals of counseling strategies, and the client-counselor relationship. The general assumption is that women's development and cultural behavior are biologically determined, that is, based on the reproductive function. Measurement instruments are biased in the options they offer women and their definitions of choices made by women; research designs define positive and negative outcomes for women in terms of sex-role stereotypes. Counseling interventions offered to women rarely assist them in their own personal growth, especially when they are older. Counseling intervention is more often designed to improve the services women render, or their relations with others as wives, mothers, and employees, or their adjustment as patients. The counselor-client relationship sometimes exploits women sexually in the guise of "treatment," encourages and reinforces dependency as a natural quality, views the mentally healthy woman as functioning less adequately than mentally healthy adults in general or men. Clinicians' biased attitudes toward women are well documented (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogel, 1970). A study by Fabrikant, Landau, and Rollenhagen (1973) finds that therapists rate over two-thirds of traditional female traits as negative and over two-thirds of traditional male traits as positive. Fabrikant (1974), further, finds that both male patients and male therapists agre that the majority of women can find the wife-mother role fulfilling and satisfying, while both female patients and female therapists disagree strongly.

A counseling theory is deficient when it does not explicitly consider definition of healthy behavior for men, women, and adults, and the sources of satisfaction and fulfillment for both men and women. The attitudes of practitioners and clients are in conflict. Counseling theory must deal directly with its assumptions about health, satisfaction, and fulfillment in the context of sex-role stereotypes.

FEMINIST EXTENTIONS IN COUNSELING

The feminist extension of two approaches to counseling--Transactional Analysis and Rational Emotive Therapy--illustrates the progress that can be made when attention is given to analyzing the assumptions of a theoretical approach from a feminist perspective. A counseling approach that devotes time to the concerns of both men and women, to the difficulties they have in relating to each other, and to their problems as adult human beings can greatly benefit both sexes.

Transactional Analysis

Transactional Analysis (TA) was conceived by Eric Berne. It developed between 1955 and 1965. Berne, who died in 1970, wrote a number of original and significant books, including Games People Play, Transactional Analysis and Psychotherapy, and the posthumous What Do You Say After You Say "Hello"? TA gained popular attention after Berne's Games People Play was published in 1964, followed by I'm OK, You're OK by Thomas Harris in 1969.

The feminist revision of TA is reflected in Wyckoff (1974a, 1974b) and Steiner (1974). Wyckoff (1974a) discusses sex-role scripting in men and women. She provides a structural analysis of both men's and women's sex roles, relating them to the family constellation and to other relationships. Wyckoff notes that "It is often said that men don't understand the way women think. Women don't understand the way men think, either." She says that "believing the myth of complementary sex roles conspires against genuine success because communication between men and women is broken down in so many ways" (p. 173). Wycoff elaborates two crucial obstacles in the way of full and long-lasting relationships between men and women: "They are often unable to have good intimate loving relationships with each other; and they have difficulty developing satisfying and equal working relationships" (p. 173). Wyckoff outlines ways in which communication is defeated by diagramming the possible transactions between men and women. She relates sex roles to the broader family constellation. One problem with traditional approaches to counseling is that they do not include the milieu in which the woman operates.

One insight into the human condition identified by TA theory is the notion of script, "essentially the blueprint for a life course" (Steiner, 1974, p. 51). A script is a master plan, with its origins early in life, which outlines the general course of a person's life. The script "guides a person's behavior from late childhood through life, determining its general but most basic outline" (p. 53). The presence of a general plan for all human beings is explored for women. Wyckoff (1974b) presents some scripts of women to document how they are "trained to accept a mystification that they are incomplete, inadequate, and dependent" (p. 176). She chooses scripts for Mother Hubbard (woman behind the family), Plastic Woman (woman behind the man), Poor Little Me, Creeping Beauty, Nurse, Fat Woman, Teacher, Guerilla Witch, Tough Lady, and Queen Bee.

Steiner (1974) documents the banal scripts by which men are programmed.

These narrow life styles correspond to life styles for women; people with complementary scripts can and do get together. Steiner quotes Allen (1972) who presents the basic injunctions and attributions of men, including being told "Don't lose control," "Never be satisfied," "Don't ask for help," and "Dominate women." Among the scripts that Steiner chooses are Man in Front of the Woman, Playboy, Jock, Intellectual, and Woman-Hater.

TA facilitates the careful study and analysis of relationships between people. Berne (1961, 1971) studies marital relationships. Steiner extends Berne's work to the analysis of tragic and banal relationships, documenting three enemies of love: sexism, the rescue game, and power plays. Sexism, of course, refers to prejudice based on gender with the assumption of male superiority. The rescue game refers to the Rescuer-Persecutor-Victim triangle. Prior to Steiner (1974), the power aspects of relationships are largely ignored in TA. Power, according to Steiner, is the ability to exert force over time. Steiner notes: that "men and women are scripted to perform along certain fixed role expectations, and that the role expectations include a definite power relationship between them, namely, with the man one-up to the woman" (pp 212-213). His analysis of relationships between men and women leads him to see how significant power issues are in these relationships, a finding counselors need to recognize.

Steiner outlines his views on men's and women's liberation:

> I have come to see how men are privileged with respect to women and how they use this privilege to their advantage and to women's disadvantage. But, looking further, I also see how most men are being damaged as human beings by taking advantage of their privilege. Men need women for companionship, friendship, strokes, love, and work partnerships; and these needs cannot be enduringly met by one-down, passive, slavish, or angry women. Being the master in a master-slave relationship takes its toll in the hardening of feelings, lovelessness, and guilt which accompany it. (p. 310)

It is this spirit, coupled with a theoretical framework for understanding women and men as people in a context for analyzing their relationships, which has contributed to the feminist extention of TA.

Rational Emotive Therapy

Rational Emotive Therapy (RET), the other constructive feminist extension, is founded on the insights of Ellis (1962) who, like Berne, was trained in psychoanalysis. Ellis's focus switched from a psychoanalytic perspective to an analysis of belief systems and their relationship to emotional problems:

> I had been stressing psychodynamic rather than philosophic causation, and had been emphasizing what to undo rather than what to unsay and unthink. I had been neglecting (along with virtually all other therapists of the day) the precise, simple declarative and exclamatory sentences which the patients once told themselves in creating their disturbances and which, even more importantly, they were still specifically telling themselves literally every day in the week to maintain these same disturbances." (p. 22)

From this beginning, Ellis expands his work to focus on the ways in which emotion is caused and controlled and the sources of emotional disturbance.

Consistent with Berne's assumption that people are born OK, the RET counselor assumes that a neurotic person is potentially capable. Ellis (1962) develops a list of 11 irrational ideas to account for most disturbances which continues to undergo revision as the theory develops. One reason RET is free from sex bias is the care with which Ellis and his associates work out the 11 original irrational ideas. Today, there are 10 irrational ideas (Ellis & Harper, 1975):

1. The idea that you must--yes, must--have love or approval from all the people you find significant.

2. The idea that you must prove thoroughly competent, adequate, and

achieving, or a saner but still foolish variation: The idea that you at least must have competence or talent in some important area.

3. The idea that when people act obnoxiously and unfairly, you should blame and damn them, and see them as bad, wicked, or rotten individuals.

4. The idea that you have to view things as awful, terrible, horrible, and catastrophic when you get seriously frustrated, treated unfairly, or rejected.

5. The idea that emotional misery comes from external pressures and that you have little ability to control or change your feelings.

6. The idea that if something seems dangerous or fearsome, you must preoccupy yourself with and make yourself anxious about it.

7. The idea that you can more easily avoid facing many life difficulties and self-responsibilities than undertake more rewarding forms of self-dicipline.

8. The idea that your past remains all-important and that because something once strongly influenced your life, it has to keep determining your feelings and behavior today.

9. The idea that people and things should turn out better than they do and that you must view it as awful and horrible if you do not find good solutions to life's grim realities.

10. The idea that you can achieve maximum human happiness by inertia and inaction or by passively and uncommittedly "enjoying yourself" (pp. 88, 102, 112, 124, 138, 145, 158, 168, 177, 186).

It is apparent from the phrasing that the irrational ideas challenge many banal script notions identified by TA which hinder people, and that they challenge the worst sex-role pressures on men and women.

RET continues to be concerned with the problems of women. One article on RET by Wolfe and Fodor (1975) illustrates the development possible in a counseling theory when systematic consideration is given to solving, from a feminist perspective, the problems women encounter. Wolfe and Fodor focus on problems of sex-role socialization, pointing out that:

> It is largely through following out the nurturant, docile "programming" of the female role--denying their own needs, and devoting themselves to winning other's love and approval--that women in particular seem to wind up with such severe deficits in assertive behavior. (p. 42)

The authors show how to apply RET and assertion training to help women break out of the bind they are in. Their treatment program is two-pronged: One approach is to provide individuals with direct training in the specific skills lacking in their response repertoire. The other is two forms of cognitive restructuring: consciousness raising and identifying and challenging irrational ideas in the manner advocated by Ellis (1975).

Wolfe and Fodor describe clearly why RET is a useful counseling approach with women:

> The goal of rational therapy is one of changing irrational ideas (e.g., the need to be approved of by everyone, the need to always be perfectly achieving), and thereby eliminating the negative self-ratings (anxiety) or negative ratings of others (anger) that impede effective assertion. This is done essentially through a process of depropagandization: (1) helping women become aware of what their irrational beliefs are and how they are self-perpetuating them; (2) directing them to test their beliefs against logical reality; then (3) replacing them with newer and more adaptive attitudes, feelings, and behavior. (p. 46)

The key portion of this RET approach is challenging irrational beliefs within the framework of sex-role socialization. Wolfe and Fodor apply their work primarily to women in groups. To illustrate the theory, Table 32 summarizes the portion of their work which includes self-statements that impede effective assertion.

- Insert Table 32 About Here -

As an approach to counseling which lacks sex bias, this theory is an exemplary model in that it provides a thorough consideration of sex-role issues, considers the problems of clients in relation to the family constellation and the broader environment, and develops specific counseling interventions to help women change.

REDUCING SEX BIAS

The personality theories, from which counseling theories are drawn, assume a biological basis for the differences in gender behavior. They largely ignore the importance of socialization in developing sex-role behavior. For example, the Adlerian concept of "penis envy" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1964) and the Eriksonian concept of inner space (Erikson, 1968; Doherty, 1973) confuse psychological determinants of behavior with physiological antecedents to gender behavior as the subject matter that the theory attempts to conceptualize.

Given the present sex bias in counseling theory, in what direction does the profession move to reduce that sex bias? Several authors addressing the question of change focus on therapeutic practices and therapist attitudes (Barrett, Berg, Eaton, & Pomeroy, 1974; Kravetz, 1975; Levine, Kamin, & Levine, 1974; Rice & Rice, 1973). Kravetz (1975) suggests that therapists examine their attitudes toward women, inform themselves about the psychology of women, and reevaluate their therapeutic goals and orientation.

Traditional counseling theories have not been conceptualized broadly enough to include the above issues; when the issues are included, they are not dealt with explicitly to eliminate sex bias.

Nonsexist counseling theories will do little to eliminate bias in practice if biological determinism persists in the view of the counselor and if the process is defined as an adjustment model, thereby intensifying the power of cultural stereotypes to define and to constrict sex-role behavior. A counselor who believes that women are inherently dependent on approval and love from men for self-esteem, and who believes that success in achieving this is a measure of a woman's psychological well-being, will not support the goals of women clients which elicit opposition or rejection from males. A counselor whose assessment of a woman client is predominantly determined by her appearance, age, and relationship to a man will assign priorities and options for treatment by sex-role stereotypes, regardless of the absence of bias in the theoretical system accepted by the counselor.

VOCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

Much counseling is vocational in nature, particularly at the secondary and postsecondary levels. In addition to familiarity with guidance and counseling theories, a counselor must have an understanding of vocational development.

Osipow (1973) reflects the attitude of many early social scientists studying vocational development: "For many years, questions of career development concerning women were ignored or given cursory treatment, partly out of lack of general social interest, and partly because the confusing nature of career development in women made the topic difficult to study" (p. 256). A number of "classic" career development theories, propagated in the early 1950's, to this day are the guiding theoretical framework for counselors-in-training who are concerned with helping students make vocational choices. However, these theories suffer from the same malady as general counseling literature and theories: Women's vocational development and concerns are either ignored or treated as trivial corollaries to men's career development.

General Career Development Theories

While some early vocational theorists incorporate some views on women, for the most part these efforts describe the usual patterns in women's career development, characterized primarily by discontinuity due to marriage and childbearing and rearing. These authors vary in their thinking about careers and in the objectives they seek in their theorizing. Some are trying to explain why certain people make the choices they do, while others focus on the nature of career development over time. Some are attempting to provide practical techniques to facilitate vocational development, while others are trying to examine characteristics that differentiate members of various occupations (Osipow, 1973). That these theorists imply universal applicability of their theories mandates evaluation of their relevance to half the population--women.

Of the four vocational development theories reviewed by Osipow, Roe's Personality Theory of Career Development is one of the first to emphasize the impact of personality and childhood experiences. But it fails to deal definitively with issues of women's career development. Its lack of empirical support suggests that it would be an unproductive, if not counterproductive, basis upon which to build a theory of women's career development.

Neither does a second theory, Holland's Theory of Vocational Behavior, provide a foundation to explain women's career development. Holland recognizes the limited applicability of his theory to women. The theory needs to be revised to account for women, whose developmental and vocational tasks and goals differ sufficiently from those of men to require different formulations. But Holland does not specify the particular direction these modifications should take (Osipow, 1973).

The basic assumptions of the Ginsberg, et al. theory make its applicability to women's career development questionable. The unresolved controversy over the similarities and differences in male and female developmental tasks makes it impossible to determine if one vocational development theory based on developmental task achievement is adequate for both sexes. Further, a woman's wishes and possibilities may be limited by internal and external barriers with which men are not confronted. Therefore, the compromises or optimizations she reaches will be limited. While the theory may offer some potential for identifying developmental stages among youth, it does not provide the counselor with any useful guides for optimizing women's career alternatives and vocational growth.

Conversely, Super's theory appears to hold real potential as a basis for exploring women's career development, nonetheless, certain aspects limit its usefulness for counselors and others in understanding and helping girls and women develop vocationally. In addition to the secondary status accorded women's issues, women's vocational self-concepts face socialization and labor-market problems quite different from those of men. If one's vocational self-concept is a function of childhood observations of and identification with persons who work and same-sex models are the most influential (as data reviewed earlier indicate), the working women a young girl is likely to observe are her mother, her elementary teachers, and nurses--all women in traditionally feminine occupations. Young girls rarely have the opportunity to know about, much less observe, women in nontraditional occupations. The concept of selecting an occupation congruent with the individual's interests and abilities also presents subtle pitfalls for women's career development. In early childhood both boys and girls learn which activities and interests are appropriate for individuals of their sex. While this process limits the options of both, it will differentially affect their vocational development.

Since society has deemed boys' primary goal a career, it encourages interests and abilities related to that goal. Since girls are to become wives and mothers, different interests and abilities are encouraged which may not be congruent with career development. The major problem in relating Super's theory to women's career development lies not so much with the theory but with the developmental nature of women's vocational self-concept. The early childhood experiences and social pressures during adolescence for most women contribute to a vocational self-concept that limits women's selection of occupational alternatives to the narrow range of traditionally female careers.

Career Development For Women

Since the process of career development for women is both similar to and different from that for men, the stage is set for an independent theory of career development for women. In the late 1960's two such theories appeared.

Zytowski's Theory of Career Development for Women. Zytowski (1969) postulates that women's model life role is that of homemaker, but the frequency and singularity of this role is changing. If women's life roles are carefully observed, they appear orderly and sequential. Zytowski takes the stance that "homemaker and career roles for women are mutually exclusive because of their impact on entry and persistence in the labor market, as well as the level of work women will engage in while they are employed outside the home" (Osipow, 1973, pp. 258-259).

While Zytowski uses the female life cycle as a framework for his theory, this initial premise that woman's major life role is that of homemaker restricts the nature of all succeeding stages. Giving family role requirements priority implies women's career activities are deviations from the standard, an implication not likely to foster interest in or valuation of career activities among women. Zytowski also assumes that women are free to choose among career patterns. Such freedom requires that women be informed about existing patterns and the reward and drawbacks associated with each. Even if women possessed perfect information, which they do not, socialization and structural barriers exist which not only restrict women's choices but also limit the alternatives (Laws, 1975). Furthermore, Zytowski's premise that homemaker and career roles for women are mutually exclusive is refuted by data from the Women's Bureau, which shows that 40 percent of married women living with their husbands are employed (Vetter, 1973).

Psathas' Theory of Occupational Choice for Women. Psathas (1968) "makes the point that important elements in women's career development (marriage, timing of children, spouse's attitudes) are just not considered in theories of career development for men and, thus, separate concepts to explain the process in women are essential" (Osipow, 1973, p. 259). Psathas argues that the occupational choices of women must be examined in the context of sex roles (Astin, 1975b). The relationship between sex roles and occupational roles is basic to understanding factors that influence women's entry into the world of work. While emphasis on the social context of women's vocational choice is appropriate, that context is traditional and middle class.

Psathas does not analyze sex roles, making it difficult to determine the relationship between sex roles and occupational roles. Phases of women's development are analyzed only from a middle-class perspective. Young women's education is evaluated for its contributions to women's marriageability and not to economically productive skills. Childbearing and childrearing are examined in the context of middle-class values, ignoring the large number of working mothers who cannot afford these scruples (Laws, 1975) but who must deal with the guilt that value system imposes on them. Psathas presents the social forces that foist conventional choices on women, but he fails to deal with the variations in perceptions and the alternative or nontraditional options equally valid within his theory (Laws, 1975).

SUMMARY

An examination of guidance, counseling and career development theory as it affects the sexes indicates that counseling theory is often a product of the theoretical legacy of Freud. Most counseling theories assume a biological basis for sex differences in behavior, with little or no thought that the culture might be the source of sex-role behaviors. Those personality theories from which counseling theories are drawn largely ignore socialization in the development of sex-role behavior.

The goal of counseling is generally considered the successful acquisition of and adjustment to culturally defined sex-role behaviors. The theoretical assumption that the problem is within the individual rather than within society (or at least that a portion of it is society-based) becomes a further source of bias in theory. Traditional approaches to counseling do not include the milieu in which the woman operates.

Transactional Analysis is translated by Wycoff (1974) and Steiner (1974) into a feminist perspective which holds that many scripts (which guide a person's behavior through life) have their origins in sex-role stereotyping. Rational Emotive Therapy thoroughly considers sex-role issues, such as the problems of clients as they relate to the family constellation and the broader environment. RET develops specific counseling interventions to help women change.

Women's vocational development and concerns are either ignored or treated as trivial corollaries to men's career development. While some of the early vocational theorists incorporate some views on women, these describe the usual patterns in women's career development, characterized primarily by discontinuity due to marriage and children.

The four general theories deal with career development as a unitary process, that is, a process that can be explained by essentially the same parameters for all individuals, thereby ignoring the special forces that affect women's career development.

Two recent theories of career development for women have been proposed but they yield disappointing results. While they identify important parameters for consideration, their interpretations of the impact of woman's life cycle and the social context within which she must function are limited to traditional middle-class options.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

The conceptualization of counseling theories must be broadened to include such issues as sex differences, the psychology of women, sex-role stereotypes, and societal norms for healthy and acceptable behavior by men and women. Counseling strategies and the definition of goals then would be considered in a much broader and unbiased framework. The definition of a counseling theory would be broadened. From the perspective of development, a theory is incomplete until these criteria are met. Further, theories that conceptualize problems as primarily intrapsychic in origin are inadequate to conceptualize the sources of distress women encounter in society. Change must occur in society and in the sex-role expectations that significant persons have for the woman-in-counseling, not just in the client.

A theory must provide the counselor with guidelines to support the woman so she can make changes in her environment without fostering a new set of dependencies. As the client strives to change not only herself but also her environment, conflicts will deprive her of previous sources of support. Finally, a counseling theory must encompass the psychology of women, sex-role stereotypes, and sex-differences as part of its theoretical base. The male bias has been explored (Doherty, 1973). In the past the theoretical base has been too narrowly drawn, a circumstance that has excluded components essential to an unbiased counseling theory.

Another critical area for change is in counselor's training. Programs must provide training in nonsexist counseling, both in the personal-growth experiences provided by the curriculum and in the didactic course work. In the former, consciousness-raising groups are suggested as a means of "personalizing" cognitive restructuring of sexist beliefs (Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973). Other possibilities include psychodrama techniques employing role-reversal and feminist-oriented sensitivity groups.

To bring these changes about, resources must support innovations in counselor training, counseling literature for trainees and practitioners which incorporates the reformulations reviewed earlier, and research. Research programs should focus on sex differences, interventions to alleviate the negative effects of sex-typed behavior, and positive models for the psychological development of women.

The vocational guidance and development theories propagate a number of assumptions among counselors-in-training which may be implemented with their clients. The assumption, in the first four theories, that woman's career development is no different from man's holds little credence. Arbitrary application of constructs based on man's development is likely to lack even face validity, resulting in disenchantment for the female student and frustration for the counselors. Those theories that attempt to incorporate some views on women focus on traditional patterns of the majority. Theories with this perspective offer no foundation for exploring new career patterns for women and continue to limit women's career options to traditional roles. The last two theories assume that women's vocational development is different, but the danger here is that "different" leads too easily to the assumption that women do not have "real" motivation for work and therefore do not need "real" careers (Laws, 1975). A major career development textbook (Osipow, 1973) espouses just such an attitude: "Work outside the home is not as central a concept to women as to men, and their status is less dependent on whether or not they have a career" (p. 91).

Current career development theories are dysfunctional for women, presenting either confusing or restrictive guides on women's issues. Any new theory of women's career development must be based on solid empirical evidence and consideration of the myriad options available to all individuals. A beginning has already been made. Numerous scholarly works on the different characteristics of women's career patterns are referenced by Laws (1975) and Astin (1975b). Hypotheses have been generated and, with further research, a valid and useful career development theory for women may evolve. The assertion "that so much social change is now occurring in the area of sex and vocation that any theoretical proposal made now is likely to be premature, as is any generalization about women's career development" (Osipow, 1973, p. 265) cannot be condoned. Social change is not likely to slow appreciably in the near future and a definitive guide to women's career development is long overdue.

Until such a guide is available, counselors must be aware of the sex bias in career development theories and their related techniques. When involved in guidance, counselors must be vigilant so the assumptions of these theories do not limit options for their students. They must explore nontraditional areas with both male and female students. Finally, counselors must work actively for the evolution of an adequate theory, one that will be both valid and useful in guiding girls and women in their vocational development.

Table 32 - Self-Statements that Impede Effective Assertion: United States, 1975

Irrational Beliefs that Lead to Unassertive Responses	Early Female Socialization Messages	Examples of Ways to Dispute Irrational Ideas
I must be loved and approved by every significant person in my life; and if I'm not, it's awful. Exs.: I can't stand being called a 'castrating female.' It would be terrible if I cried, or were thought of as foolish.	Love (marriage, family) are the most important things in a woman's life.	Why would it be terrible if the other person thought I was a 'bitch,' or rejected me? How does that make me a worthless, hopeless human being? What do I really have to lose by telling my partner that I don't like the way he behaves toward me? If worst comes to worst and he leaves me, how would that make me a failure, a reject? And what's the evidence that if this relationship ends, I'll never find another person who will treat me better?
It would be awful if I "hurt" the other person. Ex.: I was so mean not to go to my parents' for Thanksgiving; what an uncaring daughter I am.	Women are supposed to be maternal, take care of others' needs over our own.	How can I really "hurt" another person, or become a "bad" person, simply by making my own well-being and comfort as important as theirs?
It is easier to avoid than to face life difficulties. Exs.: Why say anything; it'll just open a hornet's nest. It's no use; it/he/she is hopeless. I'd do anything to avoid being yelled at.	If I'm good, people will come along and take care of me (the Cinderella & White Knight myths) and treat me nicely.	Who says life should be easy? It isn't. Change is risky; and status-quo is only easier in the short run--not in the long run.
One should be dependent on others and needs someone stronger than one-self on whom to reply. Exs.: The other person must be right; he sounds so sure of himself.	A woman needs a man to lean on. Women can't understand math, science, mechanical things.	It might be nice to have someone to reply on; but what law is there that says I can't (even at this late stage) learn new coping skills and take care of myself, if necessary?

Source: J.L. Wofle and I.G. Fodor, A cognitive/behavioral approach to modifying assertive behavior in women. The Counseling Psychologist, 1975, Vol. V, 4, in press.

CHAPTER 9

RESULTS OF COUNSELING

An important question is: What impact do different kinds of counselor behaviors and counseling programs have on the student-client? Unfortunately this impact is most difficult to document. The two primary questions that counselors need to answer are: "Are we helping?" and "How can we improve counselor effectiveness?" (Pine, 1975).

One problem in counseling evaluations is that different criteria are used to evaluate effectiveness. In some cases it may be an increase in grade point average, in others improvement in reading skill, in still others intelligence test scores. One person can evaluate counseling using one criterion, and conclude that it has been reasonably successful, while another person using a different criterion can come to the opposite conclusion. The use of different criteria has implications for sex bias.

Shertzer and Stone (1971) note other difficulties in evaluation: Most counselors have no time, no training in evaluation, inadequate measurement devices, and incomplete school data.

Lasser (1975) suggests that evaluation become part of the counseling process as "outcome-based counseling," focusing on the attainment of specific goals for the client. The process would concentrate on the consequences of counseling rather than goals and procedures as ends in themselves.

While some work has been done on overall counseling outcomes (Meltzoff & Kornreich, 1970), few reports are available on the differential outcomes for men and women. There are two principal sources of information about the effectiveness of counseling: student reports and counselor or institution reports. Student reports indicate who uses what kind of counseling services and degree of satisfaction with counseling. Counselors' or institutions' reports explain the counseling services and also indicate counseling service usage. The data below are presented separately by sex when possible.

STUDENT REPORTS

Students' reports of their counseling experiences are necessarily colored by their perceptions of the effectiveness of the interaction(s). Reports about the kind and extent of contact with counselors for the most part are nonevaluative.

High School Students

High school students participating in the National Longitudinal study (NLS) were asked to name the individuals with whom they had frequently discussed post-high school plans. Parents and friends are most often singled out, with females slightly more likely to turn to them. Guidance counselors are likely to be sought by only about one-fifth of students of both sexes. Again, females are slightly more likely to seek counselors. Of all ethnic groups, blacks are somewhat more likely to confer with a guidance counselor over future plans, although again, the numbers are relatively small (see Table 5).

- Insert Table 33 about here -

Table 33 presents students' perceptions of the counseling their high school provides. Men and women have similar perceptions about the counseling services available to them, although women more often think the school provides ideas about their work and employment counseling. Blacks and Hispanics more often than whites agree that their school provides counseling for further education, employment, and personal problems.

Bachman (1972), reporting on vocational students' perception of their counseling experience, finds that vocational students report less time with counselors than do other students. One-third of the vocational students have not seen a counselor during their senior year; less than 10 percent of college-preparatory students can say that. And yet, vocational students perceive a greater need for counseling: 41 percent want more time to discuss procedures and applications for jobs (only 27 percent of those in other programs express this need). Bachman concludes that a great deal of counseling for these students comes informally from vocational education teachers.

How do high school students feel about their counseling experiences? Most students completing the NLS (over 80 percent) think they can see a counselor when they need to. This is true across sex and ethnic groups, and most (about 80 percent) think guidance counselors usually have the information they need (see Tables 34 and 35). In terms of content of the counseling interaction, then, most students seem satisfied. When asked to rate the overall excellence of the guidance and counseling program, a majority still appears satisfied, but the percentage declines for all groups to just over 60 percent, and less than one-third is satisfied with the job placement services (see Table 36).

- Insert Tables 34 and 35 about here -

- Insert Table 36 about here -

A follow-up study of Los Angeles high school students one year after graduation (L.A. Unified School District, 1975) provides data about student satisfaction with counseling experiences. A majority of graduates (59 percent) thinks their high school counseling staff is friendly and accessible, but only 45 percent thinks the advice on post-high school education is worthwhile. Minority students are more satisfied with the advice than whites, but there are few differences between the sexes. There is some consensus (66 percent agreement) that teachers and counselors are more interested in the college-bound than the employment-bound student. While men and women agree on this issue, more minority than white students also agree. A majority of students across all groups agrees that the school staff has little time to discuss academic or personal problems with them.

Students at the University of Pittsburgh were surveyed when they were freshmen, seniors, and graduate students on satisfaction with the counseling they received in high school (Jones, 1973). Less than one-third thinks the high school counseling suits the needs. White males are most satisfied, black females least satisfied. However, only 4 percent think the counselor is prejudiced toward blacks or women or deals with them in a stereotypic manner.

When queried about the amount of influence the counselor has on career choice, most students (80 percent) report "no influence" although whites more often than blacks tend to report "no influence". Nearly two-thirds thinks the counselor has never tried to discourage students from pursuing a career in a field in which they express interest. Blacks are more likely to believe the opposite is true, and white women are more likely than white men to agree with the blacks. Only one-third agrees with the career advice given by the counselor; 17 percent reports that the counselor talked about a wide range of career opportunities. One-half of the students thinks the counselor knowingly fails to discuss possibilities in certain careers because of sex. Again, the counselors' sex bias seems to demonstrate itself in terms of omissions rather than commissions.

College Students

What are college students' perceptions of their college counseling experience? Few sources were found to answer this question. Consequently, the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) asked 100 college alumni offices to send any survey of alumni which might deal with satisfaction with counseling experiences (see appendix B). Results are disappointing: Most colleges have no such survey, and those that conducted alumni surveys asked questions outside the focus of this report. Only one study, at Michigan State University, provides a limited picture of the role of counseling in college. For instance, respondents indicate what effect a number of persons or events has upon their career plans or decisions during college. The four sources of advice ranked lowest are, in order: academic advisor, vocational testing program, psychologist or vocational counselor, and job placement center. When asked to rate 17 different sources on help getting a job, respondents again rated counseling services rather low. The job placement literature ranks seventh, followed by personnel of the center; the academic advisor is eleventh, and the counseling center fourteenth.

In a follow-up study of two cohorts of college freshmen (freshmen in 1961 and in 1966) and the influence of others on their career choices, Bisconti (1975) finds that spouses are the most influential advisors. Less than half of 1 percent of respondents indicates that college placement personnel are "most influential", and only 4 percent of the 1961 and 10 percent of the 1966 cohorts recall using the placement center. However, 8 percent of the 1966 freshmen obtained their current job through the college placement office, thus indicating an 80 percent success rate for this counseling service.

Christensen and Magoon (1974) asked a sample of 85 female and 85 male college students to rank-order sources of emotional and educational-vocational help. Friends and parents are considered first for help with emotional problems, while faculty, friends, and parents are first for help with educational-vocational problems. Counselors rank lower for both problems.

It is not necessary to conclude from these findings that college students are less satisfied with the counseling services available to them than are high school students, but only that they make less use of these services. In many colleges, students are not even aware of the counseling resources, especially for personal-problem counseling.

COUNSELOR AND INSTITUTIONAL STUDIES OF IMPACT

Two kinds of data can be compiled by counselors for the services they provide: statistics on who utilizes the services and information on their impact.

High School Counseling

At the high school level, both kinds of data are sketchy. Traditionally, high school counselors have been too preoccupied with myriad tasks to keep good records or to follow-up their counseling. An exploratory study conducted by HERI at six Los Angeles high schools of varying ethnic and socioeconomic levels verifies this situation. Counselors queried about their students' post-high school plans have little data on graduating students and become defensive over any request for data. Where some data are available, counselors think they are inadequate. Although they think information should be improved, counselors have little hope for better data because of inadequate time for collection. The available data vary widely in type and quality; counselors also have different attitudes toward facilitating collection.

At high school 1, data on graduates are kept by the college counselor on index cards. As a student is accepted at colleges to which he/she has applied, the colleges are noted on the student's card. When the student decides on a college, that institution is starred. To get data on the number of students continuing their education at four-year colleges, these cards have to be hand tallied.

The college counselor at a high school 2 surveyed seniors for future plans in late spring. The statistical summary presents only aggregate totals for general categories. In this form it is not useful for decision-making and planning. A more detailed analysis could yield important information for counselors in planning programs, evaluating present efforts, and providing feedback to students. Although the college counselor is aware of the importance of knowing where graduates go to college so that they can serve as resource persons, this information is unavailable on a consistent, organized basis.

At high school 3, no records of students' post-high school plans are maintained by the counseling staff. However, the journalism teacher surveyed the graduating class. Although her report is available, it is not used by the counselors. While both the college and career counselors are aware of trends in future plans of their students, they have no data to support their knowledge.

At high school 4, a somewhat rough system for keeping track of seniors' college plans is being revised. Currently, as seniors decide on a college, they put their name on a bulletin board under the college name. Peer counselors are beginning to accumulate information on data sheets about sophmores' and juniors' college plans. But this procedure is still in the formative stage.

At high school 5, no year-to-year data are kept on senior's post-graduation plans by the counselors. The head counselor conducts a comprehensive survey of seniors and their future plans sporadically. The last survey was for the 1971 graduating class. The head counselor thinks this report is representative of the current graduating class as well. No break-down by sex is available for this school's data. Therefore, it is difficult to prove or disprove any hypotheses on sex differences in this particular school.

A sixth school was asked to participate in this survey. The college counselor was resistant to the request for information, requiring a more detailed explanation of the project. Upon learning that the emphasis of the study was sex discrimination, he said, "There is no sex discrimination at our school." He declined to participate in the project, saying he had no time for such activities. His is an upper-middle-class, predominantly white high school. This reaction points up the defensiveness that the topic of discrimination arouses, and the belief by some in society that refusal to recognize a problem will go a long way toward making it disappear.

In a second study, HERI sought to determine the quality and quantity of information presently available to students as they make postsecondary education decisions. Which colleges are considered by high school girls and boys of various ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds? What financial aid information is available to and used by students as they make decisions?

According to college and financial aid advisors at the high schools, a variety of curricula are available to students, and switching from one type of program to another is easy. Counselors visit junior high schools in their areas to explain the various high school options. They see most students individually before they enter high school; they assign students to classes by expressed interest, academic performance, and ability test scores. During the high school years, counselors see students routinely for course programming and any time the student requests an appointment.

According to counselors, the major problems in counseling college-bound students are time, communication, and parents. Counselors simply do not have time to see each student who needs help individually or to follow through on their contacts. Among the less educationally sophisticated students, much time is required to explain procedures, to help complete forms, and to review applications for testing, financial aid agencies, and college admissions. In the more affluent areas, students often receive this help from parents, but inner city parents do not have experience with the higher education system or with the sophisticated paperwork. In fact, counselors in these areas devote a lot of time to helping parents complete the parents' confidential statement. Parental ignorance or unwillingness to complete the necessary forms often blocks access to many four-year colleges and pushes students into community colleges (without "red tape") when otherwise they would have been eligible for four-year institutions.

An interview with the director of counseling and psychological services in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) reveals some recent changes that might account for the highly positive appraisal of counseling services by high school students. In 1971, the student-counselor ratio was 735:1, but by 1974 it was 390:1. This lower ratio has meant an increase in the counseling staff; the new personnel are usually younger, more recently trained, and perhaps closer to both the high school students and the college system. Also, counselors are now spending more time counseling; the trend is away from the teacher/counselor combination and toward full-time professional counselors. Unlike the budgets for many auxiliary services, counseling budgets have not been reduced. They have been maintained even in the face of declining enrollments. The LAUSD has added one full-time counseling position per high school in each of the last two funding years. The district has found that parents and local community advisory councils consider expanding the counseling services top priority. These changes are especially noticeable in college and financial aid counseling. Until five years ago, these services were handled by a scholarship advisor who was a teacher (not a trained counselor) assigned one or two periods a day to advise students about scholarships. In the last few years, this position has been up-graded to a full-time counseling specialist (in most Los Angeles schools) known as the college and financial aids advisor. The increased status enables the district to obtain career employees with greatly increased expertise and commitment to college and financial aid counseling. Indeed, students often mention the college advisor by name and seem to rely on that office as a major source of information.

At most schools, the college advisement office maintains applications for various aid programs, required tests, and college admissions along with general information booklets, complete reference sources, and individual college bulletins. Many college advisors are actively involved with their students. At one predominantly minority school just before a SAT registration deadline, the college advisement office was literally full of students who had been summoned by advisors to make sure that they filed the registration forms. This approach is a striking contrast to the passive policies of traditional counselors who wait for students to initiate appointments. When an additional full-time counselor was recently assigned to the college advisor in one minority high school, the office was able to identify all students with a grade point average of 3.0 or better, call them to the office for individual counseling on career and college plans, and advise them of application deadlines. The counselor hopes to do the same next year for every student with a GPA of 2.5 or better.

College-Level Counseling

At the college-level, documentation on the individuals who use the campus counseling services is just beginning. Unlike high school, every student is not automatically assigned to a counselor (except an academic advisor) at the college level. In fact, the student often must seek the services. Thus, keeping records on who is and is not utilizing the services becomes important.

Sharp and Kirk (1974), in an attempt to identify which students seek counseling and at what point in their college career they do so, find that counseling initiation is greatest just after school begins and declines over time. Women tend to initiate counseling earlier in the academic year. Men who seek counseling during final exams are least like the average student and need the most counseling. Sue and Kirk (~~1974~~ 1975) provide demographic data on clients using university counseling services, specifically on the frequency of Asian-American versus non-Asian use of the services. They find that a proportionately greater number of Asian-American than of the general student population use the counseling center, but they underutilize psychiatric services. Chinese-American females are the highest users of mental health services (50 percent of Chinese-American females use these services), while Japanese-Americans and non-Asian females do not differ significantly in their use.

In an unpublished study, Perez (n.d.), looking at Mexican-American students' attitudes toward counseling services, finds that only 17 percent have ever used the services. Counselors of the same sex and ethnic background are preferred by these students and by a control group of white students. Initial complaints are about stresses caused by the financial and academic demands of the university. Female students experience more stress over security and inclusion in the university community. Overall, Perez concludes that Mexican-American students are less positive about therapy and counseling and have less confidence in mental health workers than nonminority students.

Some university counseling centers are developing materials on the effectiveness of their services and on their clientele. A data bank of 186 institutions' counseling centers has been compiled at the University of Maryland Counseling Center. Of this number, in 1973-74, 94 had such materials. In 1974-75, the number increased to 103 at the same time that data bank participants decreased to 176. Specific data are not available at this time for general distribution.

Some unverified preliminary data from the University of California, Los Angeles give some sense of who frequents a university counseling center. These data, for the academic year 1974-75, indicate that a great majority of clients are female (62 percent). Initial problems vary a great deal: For females, the most frequent deal with career issues, followed closely by academic issues and behavioral concerns. For males, career and academic problems are equally important, followed by behavioral management.

COUNSELING OUTCOMES

Tyler (1969) points to two questions that can be asked about the outcomes of counseling: Does counseling do any good? What is counseling good for? She concludes that clients are overwhelmingly satisfied with counseling, that clients of college counseling services obtain better grades than noncounseled students of equal potential, that counseling does not always enable marginal students to succeed in college, that testing in vocational counseling is an effective way to impact on clients, and that the effect of counseling on personality change yields mixed results.

Of the relatively few studies that evaluate the impact of counseling services, none looks at the differences in impact on men and women. Some studies do look at both men and women. For example, Frank and Kirk (1975) look at users and nonusers of university counseling services in terms of persistence. They find that more male and female users than nonusers graduate within four years. Among academic withdrawals, a lower number of users is found. These outcomes are not reported separately.

Are women dealt with in a different fashion than men in counseling? Mackeen and Herman (1974) study the effect of counseling on self-esteem, depression, and hostility, but only among women. While their results indicate which kinds of women (married or divorced, on social assistance, or middle class) most profit from group counseling, again no comparative data exist to answer the question of whether women are discriminated against in counseling. With the exception of studies in chapter 5 (Scher, 1975; Hill, 1975; Brooks, 1973) showing that neither sex of the counselor nor the client is significantly related to therapeutic outcome or counseling effectiveness, few studies focus on the effect of sex on the results of counseling.

In determining whether sex discrimination occurs in counseling, one must consider what constitutes an acceptable outcome. A basic problem is that many measurements of counseling outcome developed in traditional approaches to counseling are encrusted with sex bias. Klein (1975) notes that viewing counseling outcomes from the perspective of sex bias raised the question of whether it is the individual's or society's goals that are considered first in evaluating the functioning of a client. Traditional mental health concepts, in Klein's view, stress adjustment to general role definitions, as opposed to the individual realizing his/her uniqueness. This conflict increases with differences over values.

Klein focuses on a number of different approaches to evaluating outcome, pointing out disagreements between traditional and feminist views on counseling outcome:

One approach is symptom removal, where a basic criterion for success involves alleviation of client suffering. Although both traditional and feminist views share this goal, Klein describes some differences in the views:

> The difference lies in the way pain or distress is interpreted in the first place, and in the recognition that certain kinds of symptoms may accompany the steps necessary for an individual to define a personally satisfying life style and role pattern. To the extent that the traditional view places responsibility for symptoms and symptom reduction in the patient's "neurosis," it has run the risk of reinforcing and perpetuating oppressive social stereotypes. (p.5)

Both traditionalists and feminists value improved self-esteem as a favorable therapeutic outcome, but disagree on theory. In Klein's analysis, sexist stereotypes underlie many measures of self-esteem. Therefore, these measures may really reflect the patient's acceptance of or conformity to stereotypes rather than a positive change. Self-esteem is an outcome category for which new measures should be developed if sex bias is to be overcome.

On quality of interpersonal relationships, Klein notes that if a woman is counseled so she can do a better job of meeting what is defined as her responsibility for the harmonious functioning of family and friends, little will be gained except to perpetuate the very source of the problem that brought her to therapy in the first place. The use of marital or family strife as a outcome measure is subject to the same bias. It is preferable, in Klein's view, to broaden the conceptual base of areas to be treated and the definition of the goal of treatment. She suggests, as a more balanced approach to outcome measurement, the system proposed by Benjamin (1974) which offers autonomy rather than dominance as the opposite of submission, differentiates between assertion and aggression, and reflects the specific interpersonal context in which behavior occurs.

Role performance is another area of disagreement between traditional and feminist views of counseling outcome. The divergence occurs, according to Klein, where role assignments are constructed and expectations defined by sex or where men and women are evaluated on their performance of different roles. Klein suggests that evaluations of occupational ability and role performance are influenced directly and indirectly, on measures such as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, by sex-role stereotypes.

Bias occurs in the definition and measurement of specific life problems, and the extent to which they are solved in counseling. The bias occurs when women seek treatment for problems that involve the whole family but which they perceive as their own. The distinction between soluble and insoluble problems must be incorporated into measurement devices that assess counseling outcome.

Recent reviews of counseling research literature (Whiteley, 1968), counseling education literature (Whiteley, 1969), and counseling and student development literature (Whiteley et al., 1975) fail to turn up considerations of sex bias in outcome research.

Klein's contrast between traditional counseling approaches and those with a feminist perspective highlights the changes needed to eliminate sex bias. Traditional theory provides outcome measures that focus primarily on "identifying or describing the values and cultural demands, and assessing adjustment in terms of stable, shared behavior patterns or personality traits" (p. 14).

SUMMARY

Overall, conclusions about the impact of counseling are scarce. Most are based on students' perceptions of their counseling experiences, supplemented by some counselors' studies of the impact of their services.

Guidance counselors are likely to be sought by only about one-fifth of high school students of both sexes. Females are slightly more likely to seek counselors. Of all ethnic groups, blacks are somewhat more likely to confer with a guidance counselor over future plans, although the numbers are relatively small.

Most high school students (over 80 percent) of both sexes and races think they can see a counselor when they need to. About 80 percent thinks guidance counselors usually have the information they need. Only 60 percent is satisfied with the overall excellence of the guidance and counseling

College women initiate counseling earlier in the academic year than men. Chinese-American females are the highest users of mental health service (Sharp & Kirk, 1974). Only 17 percent of Mexican-American students uses counseling services (Perez, n.d.). Mexican-American students are less positive about therapy and counseling and have less confidence in mental health workers than non-minority-group students.

Of the few studies that evaluate the impact of counseling services, none looks at the differences in impact on men and women, although some look at both men and women. Alternative formulations are needed for counseling outcomes and goals for women, since traditional outcome concepts are heavily sex-biased.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

There is no systematic treatment of counseling outcomes for women. Although much more research is needed, care must be exercised because traditional measurements of counseling outcomes are encrusted with sex bias.

More research is needed to interpret what kinds of counselors affect clients in what ways. Data indicate that counselors do not influence high school students much. What are they doing that contributes to this lack of impact? Is the sparsity of counselors and their overload responsible?

A national study of interaction between counselors and students should be conducted to learn what counselors are telling students and what messages students are getting.

Counseling centers must keep records of clients by sex and race.

Finally, students on college campuses must be made aware of the various available counseling services.

program, and less than one-third is satisfied with the job placement services.

Sixty-six percent of Los Angeles high school graduates agrees that teachers and counselors are more interested in the college-bound than the employment-bound student. While males and females agree equally on this issue, more minority students than whites think counselors and teachers favor the college-bound. A majority of students across all groups agrees that the school staff has little time to discuss academic or personal problems.

A survey of college students reflecting on their high school counseling reveals that less than one-third thinks that counseling suits the needs. White males are most satisfied, black females least satisfied. However, only 4 percent thinks that the counselor is prejudiced toward blacks or women or deals with them in a stereotypic manner. One-half of the students thinks that the counselor knowingly fails to mention possibilities in certain careers because of sex. Again, the counselors' sex bias seems to demonstrate itself in terms of omissions rather than commissions.

Counselors are infrequently consulted for advice by college students. Friends and parents are considered first for help with emotional problems, while faculty, friends, and parents are first choice for help with educational-vocational problems. Counselors rank lower as consultants for both kinds of problems (Christensen & Magoon, 1974).

Most high school counseling offices keep little data on graduating students. Even where data are available, counselors think they are inadequate. althouth they see the need, counselors do not think the data will improve largely because of inadequate time for collection.

TABLE 33 --Responses of 1972 high school seniors who 'agree strongly' or 'agree' that their school provides the following assistance, by sex and by ethnic category: United States, 1972
(in percentages)

Types of assistance	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Male	Female	White	Black	Hispanic
Counseling to continue education	63	63	62	72	68
Future work ideas	52	56	53	66	64
Counseling for better interpersonal relations	50	50	48	63	60
Employment/placement counseling	36	41	36	56	48

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared W. B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 34 --Responses of 1972 high school seniors to the question: "Do you feel that you can usually get to see a guidance counselor when you want to or need to?" by sex and by ethnic category: United States, 1972 (in percentages)

Response	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Male	Female	White	Black	Hispanic
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	85	82	85	80	82
No, but my school does have a guidance counselor	10	12	10	15	11
No, my school does not have a guidance counselor	1	1	1	1	0
I have never needed to see a guidance counselor	5	5	5	4	6

NOTE--Columns may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W.B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 35 -Responses of 1972 high school seniors to the question "Does your guidance counselor usually have the information you feel you need?" by sex and by ethnic category: United States, 1972 (in percentages)

Response	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Male	Female	White	Black	Hispanic
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	80	80	80	85	81
No, but my school does have a guidance counselor	13	14	14	9	12
No, my school does not have a guidance counselor	1	1	1	1	1
I have never needed to see a guidance counselor	6	6	6	5	6

NOTE--Columns may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W. B. Fetters (1975).

TABLE 36 --Opinions of 1972 high school seniors on the following services of their school, by sex and ethnic category: United States 1975
(in percentages)

Response	Sex		Ethnic Category		
	Male	Female	White	Black	Hispanic
Percent answering 'good' or excellent'					
Student guidance and counseling	66	64	65	67	65
Job placement of graduates	29	29	28	30	36
Percent answering 'I don't know'					
Student guidance and counseling	3	2	2	3	5
Job placement of graduates	35	33	36	22	24

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, prepared by W. B. Fetters (1975).

CHAPTER 10

ALTERNATIVES TO TRADITIONAL COUNSELING

While the picture of sex discrimination in guidance and counseling at the secondary and postsecondary level is bleak, the view is not without relief. Beginning with the feminist movement and spurred on by the Women's Educational Equity Act and public debate on equal rights, activities aimed at combatting sexism in educational institutions and at expanding opportunities for girls and women have surged forward. Individual counselors and researchers, parent-community organizations, school boards, professional associations, the federal government, and others have set up task forces, developed guidelines, invented or revised techniques, and established programs to equalize the treatment of and opportunities for men and women.

SEX-FAIR COUNSELING

It is impossible to evaluate the impact of potential sex discrimination in counseling without considering a number of antecedents. Beyond human factors, institutional structure and policies, as well as curricular and extracurricular activities and materials, may contribute to sex bias in guidance and counseling services. In examining alternatives for equal treatment of and opportunities for both sexes, it is not sufficient to review only those interventions that take place at the high school and post-high school level. Since sex-role stereotypes and socialization experiences that arbitrarily restrict the options of both sexes begin early, it is imperative to examine and propose strategies to eliminate sex discrimination throughout students' educational experience.

Task Forces on Sexism in the Schools

The impact of discriminatory treatment of boys and girls on their future alternatives and achievements is not unrecognized. Task forces within individual schools, school districts, state departments of education, and guidance-related professional associations are widespread. These task forces generally have the same goal: to identify sex discrimination and to propose guidelines and strategies for its elimination. Feshbach (1975) suggests that the results of evaluations by several groups in the same school could serve as the focus for discussions by parent-staff groups to identify, plan, and implement necessary changes.

Actions by school board committees at Ann Arbor and Kalamazoo, Michigan, and North Carolina State Department of Education illustrate types of activities undertaken by many local and state offices of education (Committee to Eliminate Sex Discrimination, 1972; Ahlum, 1974; Dept. of Public Instruction, N.C., n.d.). In each case a committee or task force identifies sexism within educational policies and practices and develops guidelines and strategies for its removal. Each set of guidelines emphasizes the importance of the student as an individual who should receive equitable treatment in and access to all areas of school life, regardless of sex. Increasing the awareness of the entire educational community of the pervasive influence of sex-role stereotypes is a prerequisite for change. These committees identify and recommend nonsexist alternatives in guidance and counseling, curriculum, instructional materials, facilities, physical education and interscholastic activities, and other activities that affect a student's development and future opportunities. While specific objectives and strategies are suggested for counselors, counselors should help implement nonsexist alternatives throughout the school. Similarly, administrators and teachers should also implement guidance goals.

Guidance objectives include:

1) Encourage students of all ages to develop their own interests and talents as individuals rather than as members of a sex group.

2) Encourage all students to take part in life planning as individuals and as family members.

3) Encourage girls to take their talents seriously and explore traditionally male classes and fields, and warn boys of the hazards of the "superman" role.

4) Make both sexes at all age levels aware of all occupations. Girls need to understand the value of a job or career for self-sufficiency and self-fulfillment (Dept. of Public Instruction, N.C., n.d.).

While school-related committees and agencies are increasingly aware of the need to eliminate sex discrimination in the schools, guidelines and strategies are only one step in the process. It is heartening that more individual educators, school boards, and state departments are dealing with the problem, but guidelines and strategies must be implemented if sexism is to be eradicated. This process is just beginning.

Guidance-Related Professional Associations

A number of professional associations have formed commissions to deal with sex bias in their ranks. The American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) in March 1972, acknowledging the "clear and undeniable evidence that girls and women suffer from personal and institutional discrimination" and that the concern of counseling and guidance is "for the welfare of all human beings," established a Commission for Women (APGA, 1974, p.1). The commission is responsible for investigating and reporting the status of women in the APGA, formulating recommendations, and guiding affirmative action programs within APGA, its divisions and branches. Haun (1974) and Pressley (1974) note that the counseling and guidance profession suffers from sex discrimination to the same extent as the society it serves (see chapter 4). APGA also established in 1973 the Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance (AMEG) Commission on Sex Bias in Measurement to develop a guide to evaluate sex bias in interest inventories (see chapter 6).

The Task Force on Sex Bias and Sex Role Stereotyping, established in 1975 by the American Psychological Association (APA), focuses on the effect of psychotherapeutic practices on women as students, practitioners, and consumers. A survey of 2,000 women in APA identifies four major areas of sex bias or sex-role stereotyping in psychotherapy which are equally applicable to counseling: (a) fostering traditional sex roles, (b) bias in expectations and devaluation of women, (c) sexist use of psychoanalytic concepts, and (d) responding to female clients as sex objects, including seduction. The most pressing need is "for consciousness raising[1], increased sensitivity, and greater awareness of the problems of sex bias and sex-role stereotyping in psychotherapeutic practices" (p. 1174) at all levels within APA through workshops, division programs, and conferences. Other needs include "development of guidelines for nonsexist psychotherapeutic practices.... (and formal criteria and procedures...to evaluate education and training (and materials) of psychotherapists in the psychology of women, sexism in psychotherapy, and related issues" (p. 1174).

COUNSELING FOR JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Recognizing sex discrimination and outlining potential remedies are only a start toward a solution. Nonsexist materials and techniques are needed to implement any plan to eradicate sex bias and sex-role stereotyping.

---

[1] Sometimes called sex-role awareness.

Nonsexist Curricular Guides

Awareness of the impact that the day-to-day curriculum has on students' development, educational and vocational aspirations, and self-image has led to the publication of nonsexist curricular guides.

One such guide, Today's Changing Roles: An Approach to Nonsexist Teaching (Resource Center, 1974), presents supplementary instructional materials to help students explore and understand the ways sex-role stereotypes define and limit male and female roles. Curricular resources are provided for elementary school, intermediate grades, and secondary school. The purpose of these materials is to make students aware of sex-role stereotypes; to explore the implications of societal expectations for males and females; to analyze stereotypes, their sources, purposes, and the expectations and limitations they inflict on the individual; and to examine the ways stereotypes affect students' lives and futures.

Additional curricular resources and tools to combat sex discrimination in the schools have been identified (New Woman's Survival Sourcebook, 1975):

An Educator's Guide to the Correction of Sex Bias in Education, compiled by Linda MacDonald, available from Media Center, Montevideo, Minn.

NEA Edupak on Sex-Role Stereotyping, available from the National Education Association, West Haven, Conn.

Feminist Resources for Schools and Colleges, compiled by C. Ahlum and J. M. Fralley, available from Feminist Press, Old Westbury, L.I., N.Y.

WEAL K-12 Education Kit, by M. Kampelman, available from Women's Equity Action League, Washington, D.C.

Analysis of the discriminatory treatment or lack of treatment of girls and women in high school civics books and a review of similar sex discrimination in most textbooks prompts Macleod and Silverman (1973) to recommend textbook revisions. Such revisions need "to incorporate in their content and style appropriate attention to the past, present, and potential future role of women in the country's political and governmental institutions and their leadership" (p. 71). But major revisions of textbooks are slow in coming. Until nonsexist textbooks do appear, these authors provide teachers with several recommendations (pp. 84-85) as aids to teaching a relatively nonsexist course despite the text. Macleod and Silverman note that the teacher is responsible for pointing out to students that the textbook does not give proper attention to women or women's issues. Each student can then analyze a section or chapter of the text to see if and how it excludes or stereotypes women. Teachers need to adjust classroom presentations to compensate for inadequacies in the books. Students may be assigned class projects to investigate subjects, such as important women or women's movements, inadequately covered in the text. Supplemental nonsexist materials can also be incorporated into the course. These recommendations are equally applicable to many subject areas.

Counseling Intervention

Can counseling practice evolve programs that give full consideration to an individual's feelings and help generate a range of alternatives irrespective of the client's sex or the counselor's value system? Schlossberg (1974) suggests that "liberated" or nonsexist counseling requires sex-role consciousness raising by counselors and clients and good helping skills.

Sex-role consciousness raising is the focus of many alternative counseling programs. Counselors may promote sex-role awareness within the school via many vehicles schools via many vehicles: For example, Hansen (1972) presents a number of programs that counselors can implement to reduce sex-role stereotyping and promote equal development of both sexes' vocational and life plans. Because of the limited role models for girls, Hansen recommends group counseling for girls to explore a variety of life patterns and the ramifications of each particular role. This exploration should include a presentation of women's actual labor market participation and the value of a job or career for self-sufficiency and self-fulfillment. "Strength groups" in which boys and girls focus on their potential and develop action plans for becoming the kind of person they would like to be, also facilitate individual development. Value clarification is another important process for junior and senior high school students. Senior high students, as they make vocational decisions, should be aware of discrimination in hiring, promotions, and salaries. They should also recognize the subtle ways in which society imposes its values, restricting the individual's free choice of life options. Work experiences should be available to students before they make their final decisions. Women's studies should include the difference between the facts and myths of women and work and women's contributions to society. The implications for both men and women of choosing atypical life styles should be introduced at the high school rather than at the college level. Students who do not go to college need to be exposed to such courses.

The struggle by the parents and staff of one cooperative school to recognize and eliminate sexism is reported by Harrison (1974). Even in a school considered highly progressive, innovative, and exciting, many instances of sex discrimination are discovered. The Sex-Role Committee within this school attempts to involve the entire educational community in recognizing and working against sexism by designing a variety of activities and projects that bring together parents and staff, blacks and whites, men and women.

Individual educators, school boards, and state departments of education contribute toward the elimination of sex discrimination in the schools. Feshbach (1975) develops an evaluation instrument to locate sex discrimination, bias, and sexism at the elementary, junior, and senior high school levels. Not all items are appropriate at all levels, nor are they intended to be exhaustive, but they illustrate the practices and policies that require attention.

The Women's Liberation Center of Nassau County (1973) developed a four-day minicourse on "Women in Society" for high school students. The course emphasizes raising students' consciousness about sex-role stereotypes and informing them about the women's movement. The syllabus appendices contain facts, myths, definitions, and article excerpts on women's issues to stimulate discussions. A bibliography on women provides background for teachers, counselors, and students involved in the curriculum.

Erickson (1974) describes a curricular alternative for adolescent girls which promotes movement from conventional to principled morality and from external to internal sources of ego strength. Using a seminar practicum model, Erickson finds that adolescent girls tend to level off earlier and at a lower level than boys in a number of cognitive, emotional, and moral developmental areas. Since a counselor's responsibility is to promote equal growth and competence in women and men, counselors are obliged to explore and implement positive interventions in girls' development. While this intervention is still in the formative stage, it appears a bright prospect to equalize men's and women's adolescent and adult development.

Additional resources for developing sex-role awareness and women's studies courses are identified in New Woman's Survival Sourcebook (1975):

To Be Free, by Frieda Armstrong, available from Fortress Press, Philadelphia, Pa.

Male and Female Under 18, edited by Nancy Larrick and Eve Merriam, available from the Feminist Book Mart, Flushing, N.Y.

What Every High School Woman Should Ask, by Youth Liberation and available from them, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Other Choices for Becoming a Woman, edited by Joyce Slayton Mitchell, available from KNOW, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Career counseling also suffers from sex bias. Several career counseling models seek to build young women's awareness of myths and facts about women and work, a first step toward more realistic life planning.

Birk and Tanney (1972) propose a career counseling model for women to heighten their awareness of the influence of sexism and stereotypic attitudes on their roles and career goals. The model proposes to broaden students' concept of what women's roles could be. Designed for junior and senior high school students, the model involves three one-hour group sessions and an informal individual follow-up with a counselor. An informal assessment of the model at one large high school yields favorable increases in students' awareness of women's roles, career options, and the importance of life planning.

Tiedt (1972) proposes a "realistic counseling model for high school girls." She stresses that most high school girls, especially those of lower socioeconomic background, are unaware of the high probability of their future need for employment. The model presents 10 suggestions for counseling activities to provide girls with a more realistic picture of their own uncertain future and of the actual labor market situation for women.

Such career counseling programs need to be bolstered both by nonsexist career materials and those that actively encourage nontraditional options for both sexes. Mitchell (1975) explores over 100 careers for women, many of them nontraditional. The emphasis is on choosing a satisfactory job, not simply a "female" job but one that fits individual interests and talents and optimizes potential. This freedom of choice is available to women if they free themselves from their own stereotypic attitudes and develop a life style congruent with their own career development. For each career option Mitchell presents a description of the field by a woman working in it. Educational requirements, the number and location of women in the field, beginning salaries, future opportunities for women, colleges awarding the most degrees to women in that field, and sources of further information are provided.

ABT Associates in Cambridge, Mass. has developed nonsexist career guidance kits, games, and resource guides. Other resources identified in the _New Woman's Survival Sourcebook_ (1975) include:

Non-Traditional Careers for Women, by Sarah Splaver, available from Simon and Schuster, New York.

Counseling California Girls, pamphlets available from the Commission on the Status of Women, Sacramento, Calif.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR NONSEXIST COUNSELING

The _Congressional Record_ of March 9, 1971, quotes Rep. Shirley Chisolm's outline of counselors' responsibilities: "to raise the aspiration of girls, to assist them in achieving a satisfactory identity both as women and as workers, and to help replace past occupational stereotypes." (Education Committee, 1973, p.3). This challenge is presented to counselors and counselor trainers whose formal training is highly traditional. Chapters 4 through 9 point out that counselor training usually provides no courses specifically about girls and women, and that the theories, textbooks, and counseling tools are sex biased. They discriminate either by ignoring women or women's issues in theoretical treatises, by limiting women's options to traditionally feminine career or life patterns on interest inventories, and by labeling more "instrumental" or masculine preferences as deviant. But the inequities of the present system are not going unrecognized.

Programs and Workshops

Sex Equality in Guidance Opportunities (SEGO). SEGO, a project funded by the U.S. Office of Education and managed by APGA, brought together interested and qualified individuals from each state to receive training and materials that they could then use in training workshops in their own states. Project funds covered expenses for seven SEGO workshops in each state and ten in California. The workshops were open to counselors, teachers, and administrators from elementary school through college. The objectives include: (a) to expand awareness of instances of sex discrimination and bias in the environment, and its illegality under Title IX of the Education Amendment of 1972; (b) to examine the double discrimination against minority girls; (c) to expand options available to boys and girls by supplying information, resources, and techniques, and (d) to expand the influence of each workshop by having each participant develop a strategy for change within his/her own environment.

The materials provided participants include guidelines for developing affirmative action plans for women's employment, tools to expand boys' and girls' options, bibliographies, resource lists, kits and films, outlines of nonsexist counseling techniques, including a model by Schlossberg (presented earlier in the chapter), information on assertion training, and exercises to build sex-role awareness.

Workshop on New Careers. In June 1974 the American Council of Education, APGA, National Institute of Education, and the University of Maryland sponsored a workshop for postsecondary school and agency counselors designed to: (a) stimulate counselors to develop greater awareness of sex-role stereotypes, (b) provide career development and counseling skills, and (c) encourage participants to develop meaningful programs in their own settings. Speakers covered sociocultural sex-role norms that influence human beings in their vocational choices and behaviors and specific techniques that can help both sexes free themselves of sex-role stereotypes so they may reach their full potential. Participants from 31 of the 49 institutions represented responded to a follow-up questionnaire indicating implementation of some new programmatic effort. The conference appears successful in instituting nonsexist activities at the institutions.

University Extension. The University of California Los Angeles Extension presented a conference in 1973 to provide professionals with directions for acquiring the knowledge, techniques, and awareness to develop effective programs for women. A community-based effort to improve career counseling and programming for women, the conference exphasized skills development. Methods to assess women's needs in the context of social, economic, political, and educational trends were presented. The establishment of goals within institutional objectives and the development of guidelines for the content of women's programs were outlined. The development of counseling and teaching skills for work with women was reviewed, as were methods to assess the effectiveness of programs for women. While workshops at the local university extension level may reach the population of school counselors and teachers, the number involved is still quite small.

Handbooks and Guides

Two national associations, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) and the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA), have each published books to aid teachers, counselors, and professionals concerned with maximizing human potential.

Integrating women's studies into teacher education and, subsequently, into the teacher's own classroom curriculum is viewed as significant in combatting sexism. Liberating Our Children, Ourselves (Howard, 1975) is a guide for developing women's studies course materials. It is essential for a women's studies program to include courses or sections that examine sex differences and socialization and to explore each teacher's and each student's awareness of his/her own sex biases. Teachers-in-training need the experience of developing tools, methodologies, and materials that identify and eliminate sex-role stereotyping in school policies, programs, and materials. Howard presents a comprehensive course syllabus including an outline, detailed objectives, learning projects, and an extensive bibliography for a women's studies program to be incorporated into a counselor- or teacher-education program or into a high school or college curriculum.

Counseling Girls and Women Over the Life Span (Whitfield & Gustav, 1972) was developed by NVGA to increase the awareness of counselors, counselor trainers, and other professionals of the unique assets, as well as the needs, girls and women bring to life situations. The authors discuss the life stages of women, development of sex differences, and the social context within which women function. They point out the developmental aspects of each life stage and implications for counseling. The book also deals with special topics, such as value clarification for women, socialization and institutional barriers to women's freedom of choice, continuing education for women, and counseling in the year 2000.

COUNSELING ALTERNATIVES FOR WOMEN

As women begin to realize that they are more competent, decisive, and creative than their sex-role stereotype and that society judges them not by their true potential but by that stereotype, they are likely to experience frustration, anxiety, and anger. Many feminist counselors and therapists recognize this double bind. New counseling techniques are being developed and old ones revised to help these women overcome their restrictive socialization and break out of the sex-role stereotypes they find oppressive. Two counseling methods are particularly useful.

Assertion Training

Assertiveness is the direct, honest, and appropriate expression of one's thoughts, opinions, feelings, or needs. Assertive behavior involves a high regard for one's own personal rights and the rights of others. It is ethical and responsible, yet firm. Unassertive behavior is characterized by communicating less than one wishes in an avoidant, passive, or wishy-washy manner. Assertiveness is differentiated from aggressive behavior, where one expresses oneself in a direct and even honest manner but where one is also attempting to hurt, put down, embarrass, or upset another person.

Assertion training is an increasingly popular mode of counseling intervention. It provides an outstanding vehicle to challenge sex-role stereotyped thinking and socialization messages that restrict the actions of both sexes. People, especially when younger, are introduced to a great variety of socialization messages that help them adapt to society. Many of these messages support personal growth. Others, however, support adaptation in a manner that limits an individual's potential.

In many areas there is a double standard of behavior for men and women. When these areas involve the violation of one's personal human rights, assertion training can help a person sort out the rights involved; determine whether the behavior is, in fact, unassertive, assertive, or aggressive; and choose responses to communicate one's thoughts, feelings, or needs in a direct, honest, and appropriate manner. Thus, the cultural stereotypes that restrict personal expression are rejected in favor of human values. Men and women are not encouraged to give up the masculine or feminine qualities they value, but rather to have greater access to the full range of healthy thoughts, feelings, and behaviors available to all human beings.

Assertion training as a behavioral intervention is increasingly offered in groups for women only. Women who are trying to function in roles outside the home often find themselves relating to others with behaviors that interfere with their effectiveness as leaders and decision-makers, problem-solvers, or simply persons with their own ideas and self-interests to promote, as well as their personal rights to protect.

Assertion training is a useful intervention in marriage and family counseling, in helping a woman become more assertive in her relationship with her husband and children, in leadership training, career counseling, job interview skills, sex therapy, and in problems of aging. It can be an important personal growth experience for women who want to improve their effectiveness in a specific role.

Assertive behavior or the development of assertive skill may be viewed differently in women and men. A man may determine that certain of his behaviors are dysfunctional. He may identify his problem with assertion, go to an assertion training group, change his behavior, take the new behavior into his social environment and receive support and approval. A woman may go through the same process but find different consequences when she tries out her new behaviors in her social environment. Instead of support and approval, she may find resentment, criticism, and negative labelling of her behavior. For example, she may be perceived as "selfish," "hard," "cold," "bitchy," and "aggressive," even though she is engaging in essentially the same assertive behaviors as a man. Assertive behavior is seen as sex-role-appropriate behavior for men in our culture but not for women.

Cognitive Behavior Modification. Because beliefs about the appropriateness of assertive behavior for women are culturally shared, cognitive behavior modification is of greater importance for most woman and may need more time and attention than in a behavioral change model for men.

While men grapple with a more personally based belief system, women must deal with one the whole culture shares (although one may argue that men in certain subcultures have sex-role stereotyped expectations of aggression). Women cannot so easily take a newly acquired assertive skill into their interpersonal relationships and receive support and approval, especially when it is likely that others have been profiting from the woman's previous unassertive or passive and even her aggressive behaviors.

Certainly, there are other payoffs for assertive behavior for women, such as increased self-respect, improved communication with others, more autonomy in relationships, greater feelings of efficacy, independence in problem-solving, and often increased respect, if not applause, from others. Since women may not receive the same social approval for assertive that they receive for passive behaviors, the assertion training model must develop women's capacities for self-reinforcement in the form of a personal belief system that will enable them to value and maintain their behavioral changes.

Initially, this process involves helping the client to identify specific behaviors that she regards as unsatisfying and their dysfunctional consequences, and then making explicit the belief system and self-statement that lead her to choose this particular dysfunctional behavior. For example, a woman is asked by a friend, "Do you mind if I borrow your class notes?" While the friend really prefers that people do not borrow her school materials, she responds to the request with "No, not at all." Therefore, the target behavior is the dishonest communication that inadvertently leads the woman to do something that displeases and annoys the friend.

The next step is to identify the belief system and statements to the self which support and maintain this choice of behavior. The client is asked what she is telling herself which leads her to choose this response rather than one more honest and functional. The answer may be something like: "It wouldn't be nice to say how I really feel. A good friend always thinks of her friends first. Don't rock the boat. People won't like you if you say things they don't want to hear. The other person's comfort and enjoyment are more important than mine. What right do I have to refuse requests made by other people." and so on.

The next step is to identify the client's preferred behavior, making explicit the belief system and self-statements that would lead to this choice and maintain it as a behavioral change. Often other members of the group can help to develop and state the cognitive components of a desired behavioral change. The client may have difficulty making the change because if the preferred behaviors are not presently within her repertoire, or if at the cognitive level she does not have permission from herself to engage in behaviors she prefers, the supportive belief system and statements to self may also be absent. The group also plays a crucial role in supporting and encouraging behavioral change, as well as supplying feedback on the accuracy and appropriateness of the client's attempts at assertive behavior during role-play exercises and behavioral rehearsals. The client is encouraged to apply this model of cognitive behavioral change to other situations. Other parts of the cognitive component in assertion training which have special value for women include:

1. Teaching a conflict resolution model with the rationale, structure, and specific applications of assertive skills in resolving conflicts. This is particularly important for women who are concerned that the changes they make in their part of a marriage partnership, for example, will result in more conflicts and that they have the means to handle these changes in the relationship without damage to the relationship itself.

2. Considering context, timing, and appropriateness of assertive behavior.

3. Making explicit the consequences a person is choosing by employing different kinds of behavior in transactions with others. The choice of assertive behavior as a way to handle conflict in a relationship is implicitly a decision to choose different consequences than those that would result from

unassertive or aggressive behavior.

4. Examining cognitive issues that lead to vacillation between two behavioral extremes, unassertive behavior and aggressive behavior. Many women report that, although their objective is to act assertively in a particular instance, they find they, or others, perceive their behavior as aggressive; or, at the other extreme, they decide not to act at all.

The sex-role stereotyping of behavior presents women with special problems in the actual performance of assertive behavior. Women often find themselves making statements to others which are assertive in content but unassertive or aggressive in delivery and attendant body language. This may result from either the woman's real ambivalence about being assertive or from the absence in her behavioral repertoire of body language and speaking behaviors that should appropriately accompany assertive statements. Examples of these behaviors are eye contact and body gestures that signal confusion, helplessness, and self-discounting to others; speech patterns that invite others to interrupt or finish one's sentences; prefacing statements of opinion or requests with self-disclaiming phrases (i.e., this may be irrelevant, but..., this may sound silly, but..., etc.); and exhibiting voice qualities that invite discounting from others (i.e., speaking softly or speaking in a high, whiney, childish voice). These behaviors are generally regarded as "feminine" and are dysfunctional if the goal is to be assertive. Among the various techniques for behavioral change employed in assertion training, video feedback is especially useful.

Ideally, the outcome for any intervention will be most enhanced by highly motivated, appropriately self-referred clients. Assertive behavior is most likely to be valued and desired as an outcome by women who have already thought about changes they want to make, even if the changes are not labeled "assertive." For such women the cognitive restructuring process in assertion training is usually enhanced by the client's experience of consciousness raising, either privately in assessing one's own experience or in a structured consciousness-raising group.

For other women, particularly those who seek or are referred for one-to-one counseling, conceptualization of needed behavioral change in terms of assertion training may be quite threatening. To the extent that a woman client shares the cultural definition of assertive behavior as masculine, and to the extent that her lifestyle and identity are dependent on passivity and service to others, the cognitive restructuring process will provoke anxiety and resistance. This response raises ethical issues, as well as questions about effectiveness of different procedures. A woman client may reject assertion as a desired behavior in her most intimate relationships (where she may need it most, from the perspective of the counselor), but act assertively in other interactions, such as with salespeople, waiters, and so on.

Assertion training, as with any counseling strategy, cannot successfully facilitate personal growth for a client if it is pursued in a counseling relationship wherein the client's values are ignored or discounted, or the counselor assumes a parental role and directs the client in behaviors that will please the counselor but are not responsibly chosen by the client.

Feminist Counseling

Not only are more feminist psychologists, counselors, and psychiatrists revising existing theory and practice within established therapies to deal more adequately with the psychological needs of women, but they are also creating independent theoretical perspectives on the psychology of women and experimenting with alternative intervention systems in their professional practices.

There are three major thrusts in the move to develop a feminist counseling approach: constructing a developmental psychology of women, identifying and anlayzing the negative consequences for women of their socialization, and providing alternative formulations of presenting problems and counseling goals for women clients.

Developmental Psychology of Women. Although no comprehensive developmental theory for women has yet been offered, many feminist psychologists are exploring the following areas:

1. New ways to conceptualize the self-actualized[1] woman.

2. Identification of developmental stages that reflect the realities of contemporary woman's greater control over her body and reproduction.

3. Reconceptualization of man-woman relationships and the context in which women assess the satisfaction and success of intimate partnerships and family structures.

4. The integration into a developmental schema previously ignored growth areas such as autonomy, identity, body image, sources of self-esteem, sexuality, career development, and physical development and well-being (see Klein, 1975; Westervelt, 1973; and Harmon, 1973, for thinking on these issues).

[1] Self-actualization is a continuous striving to realize one's inherent potential by whatever means available (Hall & Lindzey, 1957).

Remediation of Negative Socialization. A second major thrust of feminist psychology is the identification and analysis of the negative consequences for women of their socialization (Wyckoff, 1971, 1974a, 1974b; Shainess, 1970; Weisstein, 1971). That women are socialized for an inferior adult role is documented in chapter 2. Whiteley (1973) describes the negative socialization of women:

> The culture conspires against woman at all stages of her life to deny her personal power. The denial pervades the legal structure, the economic structure, her religious life, family life, and probably most destructive of all, the psyche of the woman herself.
>
> From the moment of birth the culture carefully feeds back to her its view of her nature, its expectations which she must adopt for herself, and systematically rewards passive, deferential, dependent behavior. (p.33).

The remediation process itself, then, consists of development and application of intervention strategies to help women overcome the handicaps and limitations imposed on their development by the culture. Some intervention strategies, such as assertion training and sex counseling, focus on individual behavior change. Others involve personal growth experiences that lead to cognitive restructuring, for example, consciousness-raising groups, women's communal experiences, and exposure to women's arts and history. Still others involve education for competence in previously denied areas and skill acquisition for career development.

Reformulation of Counseling Problems. The third major feminist activity is providing alternative formulations of presenting problems and outcome goals for women clients. These formulations are based both on an emerging feminist view of women's development and on the remediation analyses cited earlier. In this context, contemporary women are seen as experiencing psychological problems different from those of the past and as needing skills and support to handle problems with important environmental sources.

Westervelt (1973) notes that "today's woman has been socialized to live in a world that no longer exists,....to acquire behavior styles that ill fit the responsibilities she is likely to carry" (p.22). This discrepancy is the basis of many problems women bring to counseling. Among them:

1. Integration of career, marriage, and family plans. In the past more pressure existed to choose one or the other. Women now can choose both, but often they must function in a social system that undermines their success and satisfaction by adding career expectations to traditional marriage and family role expectations, rather than restructuring all roles.

2. Change in self-concept and in sources of self-esteem. "Although (a woman) is very likely to have been socialized to need to see herself as sexually attractive and to derive self-esteem from the attentions of males, her needs to succeed in other than sexual realms of activity are increasing" (Westervelt, 1973, pp. 22-23).

3. Confusion in late adolescence over choices among lifestyles and gender roles because of intense pressure for sexual and emotional intimacy with men.

4. Conflicts of the older woman, "who has found the gender roles for which she opted in youth unsatisfactory or untenable...(and who) embarks upon a search for identity at a time in life when, so it seems to her, most

of her male peers and some of her female peers have long since surmounted this developmental hurdle" (pp. 21-24).

Related closely to the formulation of presenting problems in developing feminist counseling as a distinct intervention system is the specification of goals. Klein (1975) has developed a check list of nine feminist goals for counseling. These goals are phrased as questions to sharpen the assumptions made about women clients:

> 1. What is the connection between her pain, symptoms, and life situation? Is she reacting to role conflicts or frustrating, unsatisfying roles?
>
> 2. Are some of her pains "growing pains," consequences of her decision to change her life, break out of old patterns, and take risks?
>
> 3. Is her self-esteem dependent on others' evaluations and reactions or based on her own judgments and values?
>
> 4. Are her ideals and role choices influenced by traditional sexist stereotypes?
>
> 5. Does her interpersonal style allow a full range of behavior, including direct expression of anger and power needs and a balance between autonomy and interdependence? Does she need to please others all the time, or can she challenge and confront them as well?
>
> 6. Can she relate to both sexes as people? Does she feel good about herself and other women and draw support from shared experiences?
>
> 7. Is her role pattern her own free choice and personal blend, responsive to her needs, including her need for competence and recognition?
>
> 8. Does she use and trust her own decision-making and problem-solving skills? Can she decide which problems are soluble and which are not without doubt or guilt?
>
> 9. Does she accept and like her body, enjoy her sensuality, and take responsibility for knowing and managing her sexual and reproductive life? (pp. 15-16).

This checklist is helpful within the framework of a feminist intervention system. It is also helpful as a guide to the feminist revision of traditional counseling theories.

Counseling for Returning Adult Women

Adult women often want and need to return to postsecondary institutions for further education or training. However, because higher education has been structured for the typical student who completes his/her education through continuous, full-time study, adult women frequently experience institutional, as well as personal, barriers. Obstacles also face women who choose to return to the special education programs for women initially developed in the 1960's to facilitate access to educational institutions.

Obstacles. Most descriptions of the needs and obstacles that adult women experience as they return to school (Hunter, 1965; Brandenberg, 1974; Durchholz & O'Conner, 1973) are based primarily on observations or on data gathered informally from women participating in an individual program or at one institution.

Obstacles facing reentry women include lack of information about resuming education and preparing for and beginning a career, lack of self-confidence, and time and financial constraints. Hunter (1965), in a report based on informal data gathered during 10 weeks of group counseling sessions with 83 women, indicates that "as women become increasingly aware of the fact that it is possible to resume or begin a career, as maternal duties diminish, there is a confusion and a hesitancy about just how they may pick up the reins" (p. 311). Although women may want to work, they are not sure what vocation best suits their particular capabilities and interests. Even when a woman knows what she wants to do, she may be uncertain about her qualifications for the job. She experiences lack of confidence since she has been away from school for some time.

Arranging a schedule to include both academic and household responsibilities causes conflict for many women, particularly those with families. A return to school involves not only attending classes, but library work and study, all requiring a major investment of time. Women considering a career frequently experience additional conflict about combining their home responsibilities with even a parttime job.

Guilt is another problem with which reentry women must cope. Because of an internalized concept of their role as self-sacrificing wife and mother, women feel guilty about leaving or, as they see it, "abandoning" their homes and families to undertake a time-consuming venture that they find personally fulfilling. They feel selfish about neglecting their families to indulge themselves and about spending money that could go toward a family trip or the children's college educations. They may, in fact, feel guilty about aggressively pursuing the education they want. This aggressiveness may be interpreted by others as an attempt by the women to compete with their husbands.

Societal attitudes often thwart women's return to the academic world. Attitudes about a woman's place (in the home) and a woman's proper role (supportive, compliant wife, nurturing mother) cause guilt feelings and can lead to pressure from friends and family to remain at home. It is hard, in such a case, to brave criticism, questions, or skepticism from those one respects and loves, and to find the courage to adhere to plans that will alter the family and societal living pattern.

A study of 15 continuing education programs for women (CEW), sponsored by the National Coalition for Women's Education and Development, assesses the problems experienced by adult women (Astin, in press). Table 37 is based on interviews with 283 women and questionnaires completed by another 1,200 women in 1974.

- Insert Table 37 about here -

One-fifth of the participants and one-quarter of the alumnae of CEW report that lack of time is a primary problem, while about one-fifth of both groups sees job responsibilities or family obligations as creating significant obstacles. ("Participants" are the women enrolled in CEW programs at the time of the study; "alumnae" are women who have been enrolled in the past five years.) Other obstacles, in order of frequency, are personal problems, such as lack of specific skills or abilities, lack of direction or purpose, lack of self-confidence, lack of energy, and guilt about money or neglect of children. Under 10 percent of both groups reports negative experiences with instructors as obstacles, and about 5 percent names medical reasons or nonsupportive family attitudes.

The most frequently mentioned problems are program connected. The times at which classes are offered are a problem for 46 percent of the group. The location of CEW programs and transportation are a problem for 26 percent of participants and 29 percent of alumnae; costs create an obstacle for 26 percent of participants and 28 percent of alumnae.

Problems differ according to the women's marital status, age, and race (see Tables 38, 39 and 40).

- Insert Tables 38, 39, and 40 about here -

Cost is a major obstacle for 30 percent of the single women, 39 percent of the separated/divorced/widowed women, but only 17 percent of married women. About 38 percent of those under age 31 find cost a problem, compared with 15 percent of the women between age 41 and 50. Nonwhite women are more likely to have significant difficulties with cost (39 percent of minority women, 25 percent of white women). Tables 37, 38, and 39 indicate that married women and those aged 31-40 are most likely to have conflicts with family obligations, while single women and those aged 41-50 are most likely to have major difficulties due to job responsibilities. Participants under age 51 more frequently have problems due to lack of time, while women under age 40 are more likely to experience guilt about money or neglect of children. Women from minority races have significant problems due to lack of specific skills.

Of these women in degree or certificate programs, 21 percent of participants and 13 percent of alumnae have or had major concern about financing their education and training, and 44 percent of participants in these programs and 39 percent of alumnae of these programs report "some" concern in this area (see Table 41).

- Insert Table 41 about here -

Different groups of women returning to school experience different problems. Clearly, an understanding of these difficulties will help institutions gear their services to the needs not only of adult women, but also of various subgroups within this population. Initial entry obstacles that cause women to drop out of programs must be considered.

Continuing Education Programs for Women. CEWs were developed to help women make the transition from home to college or work with a minimum of extraneous complications and to help them determine direction.

Like continuing education programs in general, CEWs are often located in postsecondary institutions. The number of CEW programs is difficult to determine because of differences in their functions and in their use of the title, CEW, but they offer a variety of services to a diverse group of women: Some have never attended college, others have some college experience but no degrees. A small number of women have completed college or graduate study and are shifting careers or need help to reenter the labor market. Seminars, conferences, credit and noncredit courses, degree programs, paraprofessional training, and retraining programs are all CEW offerings, depending on the size, funding, and focus of the program (Astin, in press).

Counseling is common to almost all CEW programs. Through individual or group counseling, women learn to assess themselves more realistically in an atmosphere supportive of self-exploration; the emphasis is usually on becoming aware of one's strong points, that is, capabilities, values, and aptitudes. Testing is often a part of this self-evaluation process. Information about existing programs and vocational information are both available. If a woman wants to become a legal assistant, the counseling service can tell her about--or show her how to find--programs that offer this specialty.

In group counseling, women who have returned to work, combining career and family, are often invited to share their experiences and feelings. Employers speak on manpower needs and job opportunities and requirements. Representatives from the college or university discuss academic requirements, courses, the demand for graduates, and the academic success of mature students. Often skills, such as how to handle a job resume or a job interview, are taught. Support from counselors or other women in the group is an essential aspect of the counseling situation for most women, providing the reassurance and social approval they need to act. Through the counseling experience and self-analysis, women learn more about themselves and the realities of the current academic and work worlds. Armed with this information, they are in a much stronger position to make and to implement a decision.

If, subsequent to counseling or on her own initiative, a woman decides to take courses at a college or university, the continuing education program often has additional services to offer. At some institutions, college degrees are offered through continuing education programs, while other programs act as intermediaries, enrolling degree applicants at the parent institution. Some programs are more of a clearinghouse, informing women of existing programs that fit their needs.

Certification programs, a unique service offered by some CEWs, prepare women, through a year or less of classwork, for jobs requiring specialized skills. Legal assistant, counseling assistant, and landscape architect assistant are examples of job-related certificates.

Each continuing education program differs from the next one, but the common goal is to facilitate the back-to-school transition. Counseling helps each woman in her search for direction and supplies her with information about options. The programs serve as an intermediary with the parent institution, helping women handle rigid academic regulations or bypass them through admittance to the institution via continuing education. Conditional admission, credit for life experience, part-time academic study, convenient class scheduling in terms of location, time, and frequency of meetings, the relaxation of class prerequisites--all are essential elements of CEWs.

While colleges and universities have recognized the demand for CEWs and have developed programs to meet this demand, their support is often qualified. The programs are frequently self-supporting rather than university financed; they depend on the income received from the courses offered. While this is good in that the program must meet the needs and interests of its audience to survive, it is unfortunate in that it necessitates charging a high price for courses and allows little funding for financial aid or program development. Nor are the programs completely autonomous; they depend on the continued support of administrator in the parent institution.

SUMMARY

Many novel programs and counseling approaches exist which can be utilized in more traditional settings.

Task forces in the schools are identifying sexism within educational policies and practices and developing guidelines and strategies for its removal. All guidelines emphasize the importance of the student as an individual who should receive equitable treatment in and access to all areas of school life, regardless of sex.

Guidance objectives have been set up for counselors by school board committees. Several professional societies have also set up commissions on women.

Sex-role consciousness raising is the focus of many alternative counseling programs. Several career counseling models have been developed to build young women's awareness of myths and facts about women and work, a first step toward more realistic life planning. The emphasis is on choosing a satisfactory job, not simply a female job, but one that fits the individual's interests and talents and optimizes her potential.

Several workshops have been set up for counselors from elementary school through college. Handbooks and guides have been developed to aid teachers, counselors, and all professionals concerned with maximizing human potential.

Many new counseling techniques are being developed and old ones revised to help women overcome their restrictive socialization and break out of the sex-role stereotypes. These include assertion training, alternative intervention systems for women, and counseling for adult women.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

To meet the demand for nonsexist curricular materials and activities, individual counselors, professional associations, feminist organizations, and private publishers are producing a multitude of resources. While most materials are exciting in content and concept, their impact and value are difficult to determine. Several factors work against their effectiveness: Traditional and sexist materials continue to be produced by well-known publishing houses and compete with nonsexist materials. Persuading school boards to approve and teachers to use innovative approaches and materials poses problems of reeducation and consciousness raising. While nonsexist revisions of counseling techniques and programs are available, their reliability and validity are yet to be tested. While much remains to be done, it is imperative that counselors-in-training and in the field be exposed to nonsexist techniques and materials and begin to test and incorporate them into school counseling and curricula.

Counselor and teacher education or reeducation may be a major tool in ridding schools of sexism. While each program, workshop, and guide includes rich and varied materials to help counselors develop nonsexist counseling and curricula, their effectiveness is limited. Most traditional counselor and teacher education programs do not include courses about women's issues, though there is some evidence that this weakness is being remedied. Further, most counselors and teachers in the field are unlikely to avail themselves of in-service training programs on women's issues unless they have already developed some sensitivity to the issues. Probably the most effective impetus to ensure widespread exposure to and use of nonsexist counseling techniques and educational curricula is to require such courses for state credentialing.

TABLE 37--Obstacles to participation in continuing education programs cited by women currently enrolled: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

Obstacles	Participating women (N=649)
Time of day classes offered	46
Location, distance, transportation	26
Costs	26
Lack of time	20
Job responsibilities	19
Family obligations	18
Lack of specific skills/abilities	15
Lack of direction/purpose	15
Lack of self-confidence	12
Lack of energy, physical endurance	11
Guilt about money	9
Guilt about neglect of children	8
Negative experience with instructor	8
Medical reasons	5
Non-supportive family attitudes	5
Other	2

SOURCE: (in press) D. C. Heath and Co., Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education, H. S. Astin, Ed. (1976).

TABLE 38--Obstacles to participation on continuing education programs cited by participating women, by race: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

Obstacles	White (N=609)	Non-white (N=37)
Costs	25	35
Lack of specific skills and/or abilities	15	29

SOURCE: (in press) D.C. Heath and Co., Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education, H.S. Astin, Ed. (1976).

TABLE 39--Obstacles to participation in continuing education programs cited by participating women, by age: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

Obstacles	30 years and under (N=212)	31-40 years (N=206)	41-50 years (N=138)	51 years and above (N=90)
Costs	38	25	15	13
Family obligations	16	24	21	3
Job responsibilities	18	18	23	14
Lack of time	21	23	23	8
Guilt about money	10	12	6	4
Guilt about neglect of children	13	11	5	2

SOURCE: (in press) D. C. Heath and Co., Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education, H.S. Astin, Ed. (1976).

TABLE 40--Obstacles to participation in continuing education programs cited by participating women, by marital status: United States, 1974 (in percentages)

Obstacles	Single (N=108)	Married (N=426)	Separated/Divorced/Widowed (N=112)
Costs	30	17	39
Family obligations	1	18	19
Job responsibilities	19	7	12

SOURCE: (In press) D. C. Heath and Co., Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education, H. S, Astin, Ed. (1976).

TABLE 41--Financial concerns of continuing education participants enrolled in degree programs: United States, 1974
(in percentages)

Financial concerns	Participants (N=271)
Major concerns about financing education or training (not sure I will have enough funds to complete it)	21
Some concern (but I will probably have enough funds)	44
No concern (I am confident that I will have sufficient funds)	36

SOURCE: (In press) D.C. Heath and Co., Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education, H.S. Astin, (Ed.) (1976).

CHAPTER 11

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of guidance and counseling is to facilitate students' life adjustment, role clarification, and self-understanding. Evaluation of the sex-fairness or sex bias in guidance and counseling at the secondary level and beyond is complicated by the socialization process. Students, counselors, teachers, and parents all learn sex-appropriate behaviors, attitudes, and aspirations and internalize cultural sex stereotypes. The institutions within which they function are products of these cultural conditions.

Analysis of overt sex discrimination in counselor attitudes and counseling materials is insufficient to determine the dimension of sex bias confronting both boys and girls in high school and later. Knowledge of the sex stereotypes children have internalized through earlier socialization and of what other agents of socialization--parents, teachers, books, movies, television, peers--are currently teaching students about their appropriate sex roles is essential to evaluate the success of counseling and guidance in optimizing an individual's alternatives regardless of sex.

SOCIALIZATION

Recommendations, based on the findings of Chapter 2, include:

1. Because the effects of discrimination are cumulative, and elementary school is a key time for programmatic work, career development interventions should be made at this early stage. The need to understand the impact of this programmatic thrust warrants an evaluation component in each programmatic effort.

2. Special guidance curricula and materials should be available at the elementary school level. New materials should be developed and existing in-class materials, such as readers and other textbooks, revised.

3. Researchers need to determine how to resocialize the sexes: specifically, what kinds of activities, interactions, and materials would be effective.

4. During adolescence women regress in educational and social development. This regression coincides with biological and hormonal change. What happens to young girls at that time in terms of preparing for motherhood and career? Research should answer this question. Interventions with young men, as well as young women, are needed for sex-role restructuring, because they are the future mates, bosses, colleagues, and subordinates of young women.

5. In the area of training, teachers must give special attention to nontraditional careers for women. This recommendation implies additions to the teacher education curriculum, consciousness raising, and revision of the attitudes of teachers so they do not treat the sexes differently. This recommendation applies to teachers at all levels. Administrators must also be sensitized to allow certain novel materials into the schools.

6. More nontraditional role models should be provided. Male elementary teachers should be recruited in greater numbers. When police officers or firemen come to school for visits, the group should include both sexes.

7. Counselors must be aware of socialization and sex-role research. They must be taught techniques based on the research in number 3 above, to counteract harmful socialization. Counselors must also be aware of their own biases.

8. Everyone in the majority population, including teachers, researchers, counselors, and administrators, misinterprets minority socialization. This response stems from inadequate information and poor research. More higher quality research and consciousness raising on minority issues must be undertaken for the above groups.

9. Because of the increased contact of women with counselors, the same advice given to a man and a woman becomes more important when given to a woman. Counselors must be extremely cautious in the actions they suggest and encourage for both women and minority students.

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION, SELF-CONCEPT, AND SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES

Implications and recommendations based on the finding in chapter 3 include:

1. Since achievement motivation, self-concept, and sex-role attitudes are all affected by earlier socialization, it is all the more important that sex-typing be eliminated.

2. Many more questions than those answered in chapter 3 remain to be investigated. For example, do existing theoretical works on achievement motivation provide an adequate explanation for women's achievement behavior? To what extent do other variables, such as self-concept and sex-role attitudes, affect women's achievement? Does attribution theory provide a valid, alternative explanation for differential achievement?

3. Because these topics are fraught with myths, unanswered questions, and controversy, it would be far wiser for a counselor to make no assumptions about sex differences in achievement motivation and self-concept but, rather, to work to expose social myths and restrictive stereotypes that may inhibit the individual from realizing his/her true potential. Counselors must be actively involved in raising the consciousness of both men and women and facilitating their understanding and acceptance of themselves and one another.

4. Helpful interventions should change students' locus of control and perception of power. Value clarification exercises could change values on an individual basis rather than on a male/female continuum. Counselors are responsible for enlarging the options.

5. Both boys and girls must be trained in career awareness but also in what it means to be a family member. Alternatives must be generated for the usually rigid sex roles. Boys and girls also must be encouraged to communicate with one another about their perception of sex roles.

6. Changes in acceptable ways for self-actualization[1] should be introduced. Society must accept values that allow a young man who does not want a career to actualize himself in other ways.

7. Research on points in numbers 4, 5, and 6 should be conducted.

8. Forces in the development of minority students which contribute to lowered self-esteem and achievement motivation should be documented and serious thought given to whether such patterns warrant change.

COUNSELOR TRAINERS, TRAINING, AND CERTIFICATION

Implications and recommendations from chapter 4 include:

1. The sparsity of female counselor educators dictates that more be hired. Many more women earn doctorates in areas appropriate for counselor educators than are hired for such positions. Unavailable qualified women is not an issue; rather, affirmative action must be practiced.

2. More female students should be recruited for graduate programs in counseling. In the high schools, students of both sexes and of minority status should be exposed to counseling as a job possibility.

3. More men hold high-level faculty positions than women. Women are hired at the assistant professor level and often not given tenure. The implication (aside from the obvious inequity) is that students see powerful male department heads and weak female assistant professors and conclude that

---

[1] Self-actualization is a continuous striving to realize one's inherent potential by whatever means available (Hall & Lindsey, 1957).

women will never rise beyond a certain level. This situation discourages female students from aspiring to higher educational and career levels since they do not have appropriate role models.

4. Textbooks used in graduate training must be carefully reviewed and guidelines provided to or by the publisher. Neuter syllogisms or the use of both masculine and feminine nouns and pronouns should be adopted as standard publishing procedure.

5. There is no book on guidance and counseling which brings together female psychology and counseling. New materials for those now being trained must be developed, as well as for those who have already been trained.

6. Those already trained should be required as part of their certification to take in-service training on nonsexist counseling. In conjunction, contracts should be awarded to develop and package in-service training materials.

7. Courses on counseling girls and women must be added to the counselor training curriculum. The likelihood that such courses would be well received is high, since most departments surveyed by Pressley (1974) indicate a desire for this type of course. Courses on minority students should also be encouraged. Supervision and field experience with both groups should be required of the training program. All these recommendations should be requirements for counselor certification.

8. A question that needs further discussion is whether successful teaching should be given less weight in counselor certification. It is not clear why a teaching certificate is required in some states to pursue a counselor certificate. Perhaps, instead of that requirement, field experience and course work should be increased.

9. Researchers need information on the role of minorities in the counseling field, in particular the nonblack minorities. The total lack of research on American Indians is particularly salient.

10. Additional research could study the recipients of services and the system. Recommendations could be made to the state departments that they set standards for training which would include antibias regulations. Professional associations should be encouraged to adopt guidelines for training programs to eliminate sex bias. The APA, for example, could withhold approval from programs of school and counseling psychology if they did not meet the guidelines. Moreover, the APGA and other professional guidance associations could publish statements encouraging nonsexist training.

EFFECTS OF COUNSELOR CHARACTERISTICS

The effects of the race and sex of the counselor on counseling outcomes are ambigious, although the sex of the counselor may be related to certain kinds of counselor behaviors.

Counselors generally have stereotyped attitudes toward women who behave in nontraditional ways. Many women who do not conform to the norm--whether by choosing careers in engineering or not marrying or displaying traditionally masculine qualities such as assertiveness--meet with resistance from counselors.

Chapter 5 prompts these recommendations:

1. Counselor educators should concentrate on instilling human and empathic qualities into counselors and in raising their consciousness about race and sex stereotypes.

2. Schools that employ counselors should provide consciousness-raising sessions specifically to combat sex-stereotypic attitudes. In addition, counselors should examine their individual attitudes toward women.

3. More information on careers, financial aid, colleges, apprenticeship, and jobs should be provided to counselors, since many operate under incorrect assumptions.

COUNSELING MATERIALS

Several groups are already refining tests and career guidance materials: the National Institute of Education, which released guidelines for tests, the AMEG/APGA group, individual test developers such as Campbell and Kuder, the APA Task Force on Sexist Issues in Graduate Training, and publishers such as Scott-Foresman. This kind of change, however, is slow to come, and it is likely that tests and materials will not change much in the near future. Recommendations based on chapter 6 include:

1. Counselors should use new nonsexist materials when available.

2. Until those are readily available, counselors' must raise questions about every tool they use, whether it is an interest inventory, a career brochure, college catalog, or the OOH. They must ask whether the information or the test reflects stereotyped roles for men and women, and whether the materials tend to close certain career options for either sex. Then they must counteract the stereotypic assumptions of the materials. The counselor and the client have an opportunity to confront and explore sex-role biases as they emerge in the counseling session and to pursue avenues that are broadening rather than binding.

3. Colleges and vocational schools must rewrite their catalogs to reflect nonsexist intent. Government publications which have vocational impact must also be rewritten.

4. Colleges should consider providing special services for women students.

GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING THEORIES

Both counseling theory and practice are based on psychological theory, which is encumbered with sexist assumptions. Moreover, the guidance literature virtually ignores women. Although it has begun to focus on women's career development, vocational development theory is dysfunctional for women. Examination of the theory underlying guidance and counseling (chapters 7 and 8) suggests:

1. The consciousness of counselors, especially those trained prior to the 1970's, is low to nonexistant concerning sex-bias. Consequently, consciousness raising should be conducted with counselors to point out that they are using sex-biased theory. They must examine carefully any theory used in their work, as well as the research underlying it.

2. A body of non-sex-biased research and sex-fair theories is urgently needed.

3. Given all the data on women's career patterns, vocational development theory for women can now be developed: the hypothesis can be stated and tested. Researchers should be encouraged to take these steps.

RESULTS OF COUNSELING

Findings from chapter 9 suggest;

1. Programmatic research is needed on outcomes of counseling. Specifically, what are the effects on the student of seeing a counselor? Care must be exercised, however, because traditional measurements of counseling outcomes are encrusted with sex bias.

2. More research is also needed to determine how parti[illegible] characteristics of counselors affect clients.

3. Counseling centers must keep records of clients by sex and race.

4. Data indicate that counselors have little influence on high school students. What causes this lack of impact? Is the sparsity of counselors and their overload responsible? Research could answer these questions.

5. What are counselors telling students and what messages are students getting? A national study of interaction between counselors and students should be conducted.

6. Restructuring the role of the school counselor so he/she will have an opportunity to make an impact may be advisable.

7. College students must be made aware of all available counseling services.

ALTERNATIVES TO TRADITIONAL COUNSELING

Recommendations from chapter 10 include:

1. Continued development of alternative programs, techniques, and materials must be encouraged.

2. School boards and teachers must approve and use innovative materials.

3. Counselors should be exposed to nonsexist counseling techniques and testing and incorporate them into school counseling and curricula. New approaches must also be brought into training programs and reeducation sessions for counselors already certified, and into consciousness raising.

4. Since women as a group vary, counselors and teachers must adopt a more multidimensional view toward them. Within the group of minority women for instance, are blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians, and each of these groups has subgroups (for example, among Hispanics are Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans). To consider that all women will get married is also erroneous. Some will be single parents, others will be married but the major contributor to the family, while still

others may never marry. All these differences must be considered when dealing with women students.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Because of time and data constraints, the report does not raise some pertinent issues. Here are some recommendations for future research at the high school level:

1. More minority women than men complete high school and go on to postsecondary education. Disproportionate numbers of minority men may perceive that their options are limited to post-high-school-employment or to military service. How influential is the military in channeling minority men out of the educational mainstream?

2. Traditionally, programs for the disadvantaged have tried to change individual students rather than the school system that produces those students. Of course, only students who are exposed to the programs are affected by them; disadvantaged students who are not enrolled do not benefit. Some educators suggest that the money spent on such programs could be better used to develop techniques to change the institutions that produce differentially prepared and motivated students. In similar fashion, women students may be considered disadvantaged in that they do not often have the opportunity, for instance, to enroll in industrial arts courses, and are discouraged from hard sciences and mathematics. A great deal of money is spent to remedy these injustices ex post facto. Researchers should examine the school system and the counseling (both informal and formal) that results in differential treatment with an eye toward changing both.

Recommendations for research at the college level:

1. College counseling services are often segmented. Apparently, many colleges offer vocational services in one location, job counseling and place-

ment services in another, financial aid counseling in a third, and personal-social counseling in still another. Does this specialization and lack of coordination have differential effects on men and women?

2. Apparently, at the college level, there is a hierarchy of acceptability for student counseling. Many counselors give top status to personal-social counseling and second-class status to vocational counseling. If individuals primarily interested in personal counseling end up counseling students on vocational goals, what effect will their attitudes have on the counseling a student receives?

3. The effect of the sex or race of the student and counselor is discussed in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5. Demographic characteristics of participants in counseling interactions become an issue in the assignment of student to counselor. How is this assignment made? Are the race and sex of both parties considered? Is a student assigned to the first counselor available?

4. In several colleges, counseling services are experimenting with outreach programs, that is, counselors are assigned to certain subject areas or to particular schools. Are men counselors assigned to the school of engineering while women counselors work with the school of home economics? Such assignments would have clear implications for the two sexes.

Recommendations for research on vocational schools:

The focus of counseling is a little different in vocational schools. Since training is more oriented to the labor market, counseling also tends to focus on labor market issues. This raises several questions:

1. Is counseling in vocational schools as stereotyped as the labor market? Are women students channeled into such careers as beautician, secretary, and dental hygienist while men are steered away from those fields?

2. Is there any counseling for personal-social problems in vocational schools?

Since little data are available, it is difficult to answer any of these questions. The only major study of vocational institutions (Wilms, 1974) does not focus on counseling. The 1974 ACE-UCLA CIRP data on a preliminary segment of 19 schools make it possible to explore the percentage that will seek both types of counseling: About 4 percent of entering students projects a need for both vocational and personal counseling. For colleges and universities, the figures are about 10 percent and 5 percent, respectively. College men and women project a need for both kinds of counseling in about equal numbers, but proprietary school men more often than women project a need for vocational counseling, while the reverse is true for personal counseling.

3. Apparently the major emphasis on counseling comes at the beginning of school and at graduation. Any funneling of students into careers by sex probably occurs during the admissions process or the awarding of financial aid. Job placement counseling may be equally fair to both sexes, although no data support either supposition.

LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was undertaken at the time Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 was enacted. The provisions in Title IX correspond closely to the findings of this study and to the recommendations.

Specifically, Title IX prohibits discrimination in counseling and in appraisal and counseling materials. The measure requires developers of counseling programs to use internal procedures to prevent such discrimination. The institutions themselves may have to determine whether a test or other criterion is biased and to look at the reasons for unbalanced results. Title IX also requires that catalogs and literature distributed by educational institutions reflect nondiscriminatory policy in both text and illustrations.

Not covered under Title IX are textbooks and curricular material protected under the free speech provisions of the First Amendment. Some states have attempted to get around this problem: California, for example, enacted Section 9240 of the California Education Code, which states that:

> When adopting instructional materials for use in the schools, governing boards shall include only instructional materials which, in their determination, accurately portray the cultural and racial diversity of our society, including:
>
> a. The contributions of both men and women in all types of roles, including professional, vocational, and executive roles.
>
> b. The role and contributions of American Indians, American Negroes, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, and members of other ethnic and cultural groups to the total development of California and the United States.

Further, Section 8576 states, in a paragraph on instruction in the social sciences, that:

> Instruction in social sciences shall include the early history of California and a study of the role and contributions of American Negroes, American Indians, Mexicans, persons of Oriental extraction, and other ethnic groups, and the role and contributions of women, to the economic, political, and social development of California and the United States of America, with particular emphasis on portraying the roles of these groups in contemporary society.

Similar legislation should be enacted in every state. While Title IX addresses itself to the issues in this study, its enforcement is limited to administrative review by a small staff at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and does not provide for private right of action. Without private right of action, which allows an individual to sue an institution, Title IX can pose no real legal threat to institutions, especially since they have become sophisticated in avoidance tactics under Executive Order 12246. An amendment to provide for private right of action in a court of law is necessary.

APPENDIX A

THE AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY

SEC. 408. (a) This section may be cited as the "Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974."

(b) (1) The Congress hereby finds and declares that educational programs in the United States (including its possessions), as presently conducted, are frequently inequitable as such programs relate to women and frequently limit the full participation of all individuals in American society.

(2) It is the purpose of this section to provide educational equity for women in the United States.

(c) As used in this section, the term "Council" means the Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs.

(d) (1) The Commissioner is authorized to make grants to, and enter into contracts with, public agencies and private nonprofit organizations and with individuals for activities designed to carry out the purposes of this section at all levels of education, including preschool, elementary and secondary education, higher education, and adult education. These activities shall include-

(A) the development, evaluation, and dissemination by the applicant of curricula, textbooks, and other educational materials related to educational equity;

(B) preservice and inservice training for educational personnel including guidance and counseling with special emphasis on programs and activities designed to provide educational equity;

(C) research, development, and educational activities designed to advance educational equity;

(D) guidance and counseling activities, including the development of nondiscriminatory tests, designed to assure educational equity;

(E) educational activities to increase opportunities for adult women, including continuing educational activities and programs for underemployed and unemployed women;

(F) the expansion and improvement of educational programs and activities for women in vocational education, career education, physical education and educational administration.

(2) A grant may be made and a contract may be entered into under this section only upon application to the Commissioner, at such time, in such form, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Commissioner may prescribe. Each such application shall--

(A) provide that the program or activity for which assistance is sought will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant;

(B) describe a program for carrying out one of the purposes set forth in subsection (a) which holds promise of making a substantial contribution toward attaining such purposes; and

(C) set forth policies and procedures which insure adequate evaluation of the activities intended to be carried out under the application.

(3) The Commissioner shall approve applicants and amendments thereto which meet the requirements of paragraph (2).

(4) Nothing in this section shall be construed as prohibiting men from participating in any programs or activities assisted under this section.

(e) In addition to the authority of the Commissioner under subsection (d), the Commissioner shall carry out a program of small grants, not to exceed $15,000, each, in order to support innovative approaches to achieving the purpose of this section; and for that purpose the Commissioner is authorized to make grants to public and private nonprofit agencies and to individuals.

(f) (1) There is established in the Office of Education an Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. The Council shall be composed of--

(A) seventeen individuals, some of whom shall be students, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from among individuals broadly representative of the general public who, by virtue of their knowledge or experience, are versed in the role and status of women in American society;

(B) the Chairman of the Civil Rights Commission;

(C) the Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor; and

(D) the Director of the Women's Action Program of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Council shall elect its own Chairman.

(2) The term of office of each member of the Council appointed under clause (A) of paragraph (1) shall be three years, except that--

(A) the members first appointed under such clause shall serve as designated by the President, six for a term of one year, five for a term of two years, and six for a term of three years; and

(B) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

(3) The Council shall--

(A) advise the Commissioner with respect to general policy matters relating to the administration of this section;

(B) advise and make recommendations to the Assistant Secretary concerning the improvement of educational equity for women;

(C) make recommendations to the Commissioner with respect to the allocation of any funds pursuant to this section, including criteria developed to insure an appropriate geographical distribution of approved programs and projects throughout the Nation; and

(D) develop criteria for the establishment of program priorities.

(4) From the sums available for the purposes of this section, the Commissioner is authorized and directed to conduct a national, comprehensive review of sex discrimination in education, to be submitted to the Council not later than a year after the date of enactment of this section. The Council shall review the report of the Commissioner and shall make such recommendations, including recommendations for additional legislation, as it deems advisable.

(5) The provisions of part (D) of the General Education Provisions Act shall apply with respect to the Council established under this subsection.

(f) The Commissioner is directed, at the end of each fiscal year, to submit to the President and the Congress and to the Council a report setting forth the programs and activities assisted under this section, and to provide for the distribution of this report to all interested groups and individuals, including the Congress, from funds authorized under this section. After receiving the report from the Commissioner, the Council shall evaluate the programs and projects assisted under this section and include such evaluation in its annual report.

(h) For the purpose of carrying out this section, the Commissioner is authorized to expend not to exceed $30,000,000 for each fiscal year prior to July 1, 1978.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE OF SCHOOLS FROM THE CIRP

SAMPLE OF INSTITUTIONS

East N = 32

School	State
Northeastern University	Massachusetts
Cazenovia College	New York
Vermont Technological College	Vermont
Hofstra University	New York
Schenectady Community College	New York
Allegheny College	Pennsylvania
Howard Community College	Maryland
Chatham College	Pennsylvania
Darmouth College	New Hampshire
Lock Haven State College	Pennsylvania
Russell Sage College	New York
Mount St. Mary's	Maryland
Sarah Lawrence College	New York
Dominican College of Blauvelt	New York
Wheaton College	Massachusetts
University of Hartford	Connecticut
Curry College	Massachusetts
Bard College	New York
Radcliffe College	Massachusetts
CUNY - Queens College	New York
U.S. Coast Guard Academy	Connecticut
University of Maryland, Baltimore Co.	Maryland
SUNY - Oswego	New York
Baptist Bible College	Pennsylvania
Chestnut Hill College	Pennsylvania
D'Youville College	New York
Providence College	Rhode Island
St. Anselm's College	New Hampshire
Carnegie - Mellon University	Pennsylvania
Georgetown University	District of Columbia
Yale University	Connecticut
Boston University	Massachusetts

MIDWEST   N = 31

School	State
St. Mary's Junior College	Minnesota
Forest Park Community College	Missouri
Bethany Luthern College	Minnesota
Lincoln College	Illinois
Grand View College	Iowa
Missouri Baptist College	Missouri
Cleveland State University	Ohio
Indiana Institute of Technology	Indiana
Southwest Minnesota State College	Minnesota
Mundelein College	Illinois
Webster College	Missouri
Loyola University	Illinois
Wabash College	Indiana
Carleton College	Minnesota
St. John's University	Minnesota
Olivet College	Michigan
Chicago State University	Illinois
Peru State College	Nebraska
University of Wisconsin--Whitewater	Wisconsin
Huron College	South Dakota
Lake Forest College	Illinois
Otterbein College	Ohio
MacMurray College	Illinois
College of Emporia	Kansas
St. Norbert College	Wisconsin
Viterbo College	Wisconsin
Bowling Green State University	Ohio
Iowa State University of Sci. & Tech.	Iowa
College of St. Catherine	Minnesota
Cowley County Community Junior Co.	Kansas
University of Iowa	Iowa

South N = 24

School	State
Kentucky State College	Kentucky
Cullman College	Alabama
Sue Bennett College	Kentucky
Daniel Payne College	Alabama
Webber College	Florida
Tyler Junior College	Texas
Utica Junior College	Mississippi
Univ. of South Carolina - Spartansburg	South Carolina
Jackson State College	Mississippi
Sweet Briar College	Virginia
Loyola University	Louisiana
Austin Peary State University	Tennessee
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute	Louisiana
George Mason University	Virginia
Pfeiffer College	North Carolina
Longwood College	Virginia
Mississippi State College for Women	Mississippi
Carson-Newman College	Tennessee
Warren Wilson College	North Carolina
Our Lady of the Lake College	Texas
Mississippi State University	Mississippi
University of Miami	Florida
Florida Keys Junior College	Florida
Kittrell College	North Carolina

WEST N = 13

School	State
City College of San Francisco	California
University of Colorado	Colorado
Mira Costa College	California
Ricks College	Idaho
College of Santa Fe	New Mexico
Lewis & Clark College	Oregon
Idaho State University	Idaho
Claremont Men's College	California
Fresno State College	California
Northwest College	Washington
Lone Mountain College	California
University of California, Berkeley	California
Colorado College	Colorado

PROPRIETARY INSTITUTIONS

Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising
Los Angeles, California

Marian Court Secretarial School
Swampscott, Massachusetts

Allstate Business College
Dallas, Texas 75201

New Kensington Commercial School
New Kensington, Pennsylvania 15068

Sullivan Business College
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Lincoln School of Commerce
Lincoln, Nebraska 68501

Sawyer College of Business
Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118

Minneapolis Patricia Stevens Schools
Mineapolis, Minnesota 55402

Strayer College
Washington, D.C.

Tampa College
Tampa, Florida 33609

North Alabama College of Commerce
Huntsville, Alabama 35801

ITT Technical Institute
Dayton, Ohio 45414

Massey Junior College, Technical Division
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

United Health Careers Institute
San Bernardino, California 92405

The Bryman School
Los Angeles, California 90025

Northwestern Electronics Institute
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55406

Rhode Island Trades Shops School
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

Humboldt Institute
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404

Sooner Mechanical Trade School
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73106

APPENDIX C

ANALYSIS OF CATALOGS

Outline of Content Analysis: Institutional Catalogs

Name of School____

Date of Catalog____

Type____

(four year, community college, vocational (type), etc.)

Location____

(city, state)

Selectivity____

I. Total Number of half pages in general information, admission requirements, academic policy, student personnel service, and financial aid sections______________________

Number of half pages devoted to women only______________

Number of half pages devoted to men only______________

II. Special Admissions Policies

	Mentioned	Not Mentioned	If Mentioned, Population and Requirements
Affirmative Action Statement (may appear elsewhere in catalog)	________	________	__________
Non-degree students	________	________	__________
Continuing education	________	________	__________
Extension	________	________	__________

If there are any differential references to groups by sex, age, or race, specify:

III. Academic Policies

For women only:

For men only:

IV. Housing

Restrictions or Regulations

For women only:

For men only:

V. Codes of Conduct

For women only:

For men only:

VI. Social or Subject Clubs (include physical activities)

For women only:

For men only:

VIIa Counseling Services

Description and number of staff (including sex of staff):

Hours open:

Services	Mentioned	Not Mentioned
Individual or personal counseling		
Group counseling		
Educational counseling		
Career Advisement		

VIIa Counseling Services (continued)

Services	Mentioned	Not Mentioned
Education library		
Testing services		
Minority counselor		
Other Special Services		

b. Special Services

	Mentioned	Not Mentioned
Women's Resource Center		
Gynecological Services		
Day/Child Care		
Study Skills Assistance		
Placement Service		
Career Library		

VIII Special Grants or Scholarships

For Women Only	For Men Only
Number	Number
$ Amount	$ Amount

For Minority

Number

$

Amount

IXa Analysis of Department Descriptions

	Male Referenced	Female Referenced	Both Sexes	Sex Unspecified
Mathematics				
Biology				
Psychology				

IXa Analysis of Department Descriptions (continued)

	Male Referenced	Female Referenced	Both Sexes	Sex Unspecified
English				
Business				
Education				

b. Women's studies

	Mentioned	Not Mentioned
Women's studies		

Number of courses ______________

Major available Yes______ No__________

c. Physical Education

	Mentioned	Not Mentioned
Degree program in P.E. for women		

Number of courses for men only______________

Number of courses for women only____________

Description of men's facilities and faculty (xerox and attach)

Description of women's facilities and faculty (xerox and attach)

X. Administration

	Number of Men	Number of women
President		
Vice-Presidents		
Middle Administrators (admissions, registrar, financial aids)		
Deans		
Associate/Assistant Deans		
Counseling Services staff		

XI Faculty

	Number of Men	Number of Women
Full or Associate		
Assistant or Lecturer		

XII Enrollment

Year______________	Number of Men	Number of Women

XIII Number of Quotes

	Number by Men	Number by Women

XIV Illustration Analysis (pictures)

	Number
A. Men only	
Women only	
Men and women	
Unspecified	

B. List activities portrayed in illustrations:

For men:	For women:

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE OF COUNSELOR TRAINING PROGRAMS

Sample of Counselor Training Programs

Alabama A & M University
Normal, Alabama 35762

University of Montevallo
Montevallo, Alabama 35115

Alaska Methodist University
Anchorage, Alaska 99504

University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

Cal. Polytechnic St. Univ.
San Luis Obispo, Calif. 93407

California State Univ.
Hayward, California 94542

California State Univ.
Northridge, Calif. 91324

Univ. of Calif, Berkeley
Berkeley, Calif. 94720

Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles
405 Hilgard Ave.
Los Angeles, Calif 90024

Whittier College
Whittier, Calif. 90608

Southern Connecticut St. Col.
New Haven, Conn. 06500

Univ. of Delaware, Ed. Dept.
210 Hullihen Hall
Newark, Delaware 19711

Barry College
Miami Shores, Fla. 33161

Florida Atlantic Univ.
Boca Raton, Fla. 33432

Florida International Univ.
Miami, Florida 33144

Omega College
Pensacola, Fla. 32504

Atlanta University
223 Chestnut St., S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Georgia St. University
Fort Benning, Georgia 31905

Univ. of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Idaho St. University
Pocatello, Idaho 83201

De Paul University
2235 N. Sheffield Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Eastern Illinois University
Charleston, Illinois 61920

Northeastern Illinois Univ.
Bryn Mawr at St. Louis Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60625

Roosevelt University
430 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Saint Francis College
2701 Spring Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46808

Iowa St. Univ.
201 Curtiss Hall
Ames, Iowa 50010

Kansas St. College of Pittsburg
Pittsburg, Kansas 66762

Morehead St. Univ.
Morehead, Kentucky 40351

Univ. of Southwestern Louisiana
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Loyola College
Baltimore, Maryland 21210

Western Maryland College
Westminster, Maryland 21157

Assumption College
500 Salisbury Street
Worcester, Massachusetts 01609

Springfield College
263 Alden Street
Springfield, Massachusetts 01109

Salem State College
Salem, Massachusetts 01970

Suffolk Univ.
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts 010[illegible]

Central Michigan Univ.
Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

Saint Cloud State College
St. Cloud, Minnesota 56301

Jackson State College
1324 Lunch Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39217

Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

St. Louis University
221 N. Grand Blvd.
St. Louis, Missouri 63101

Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Kearney State College
Kearney, Nebraska 68847

Glassboro State College
Glassboro, New Jersey 08028

Jersey City State College
Jersey City, New Jersey 07305

Kean College
Union, New Jersey 07083

Monmouth College
W. Long Branch, New Jersey07764

Seton Hall University
South Orange, New Jersey 07079

New Mexico St. Univ.
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88003

Alfred University
Alfred, New York 14802

Bank Street College of Ed.
610 W. 112th St.
New York, New York 10025

Colgate University
Hamilton, New York 13346

Saint John's University
Jamaica, NY 11439

Saint Lawrence Univ.
Canton, NY 13617

State Univ. of NY College
Brockport, NY 14420

Syracuse University
804 University Ave., 3rd Floor
Syracuse, New York 13210

Appalachian State University
Boone, North Carolina 28607

Duke University
Durham, North Carolina 27708

East Carolina Univ.
Greenville, NC 27834

East Carolina University
Greenville, North Carolina 27834

North Carolina St. Univ.
Raleigh, NC. 27607

Univ. of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Univ. of N.C., Greensboro
Greensboro, N.C. 27412

North Dakota St. Univ.
Fargo, North Dakota 58102

John Carroll University
University Heights, Ohio 44118

Kent State University
Kent, Ohio 44242

The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Ohio University
McCracken Hall, Room 202
Athens, Ohio 45701

Wright St. Univ.
Dayton, Ohio 45431

Youngstown St. Univ.
410 Wick Ave.
Youngstown, Ohio 44503

East Central St. College
Ada, Oklahoma 74820

Oklahoma St. Univ.
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74074

Phillips Univ.
Enid, Oklahoma 73701

Southwestern St. College
Weatherford, Oklahoma 73906

Oregon College of Education
Monmouth, Oregon 97361

University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

Edinboro State College
Edinboro, Pennsylvania 16412

Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122

Univ. of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Villanova University
Villanova, PA 19085

Newberry College
Newberry, SC 29108

Black Hills St. College
Spearfish, South Dakota 57783

Austin Peay St. Univ.
Clarksville, Tennessee 37040

East Tennessee St. Univ
Johnson City, Tenn. 37601

Tennessee Technological Univ.
Cookville, Tenn. 38501

University of Tennessee
Martin, Tennessee 38237

East Texas St. Univ.
Texarkana, Texas 75501

Lamar University
Beaumont, Texas 77710

North Texas St. Univ.
Denton, Texas 76203

Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio, Texas 78285

Sam Houston University
Huntsville, Texas 77340

Texas Southern Univ.
Houston, Texas 77004

Texas Tech. Univ.
Lubbock, Texas 79409

University of Houston
Houston, Texas 77004

College of William & Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185

Longwood College
Framville, Virginia 23901

Virginia Commonwealth Univ.
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Eastern Washington College
Cheney, Washington 99004

Pacific Lutheran Univ.
Tacoma, Washington 98447

References

Abramowitz, S.I., Weitz, L.J., Schwartz, J.M., Amira, S., Gomes, B., and Abramowitz, C.V. Comparative counselor inferences toward women with medical school aspirations. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 1975, *16* (2), 128-130.

Ahlum, C. Kalamazoo: A model for change. *Inequality in Education*, (No. 18), Cambridge, Mass: Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, 1974, 47-52.

Allen, B. Liberating the manchild. *Transactional Analysis Journal*, 1972, II, *2*, 68-71.

Allport, Gordon W. Psychological models for guidance. In R.L. Mosher, R.F. Carle, and C.D. Kehas (Eds.) *Guidance -- An Examination*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965, pp. 13-23.

Allport, G. W. *Pattern and Growth in Personality*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

Almquist, E. and Angrist, S.S. Role model influences on college women's career aspirations. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 1971, *17* (3), 263-279.

American College Testing Program. *Counselors' Handbook, 1972-73*. Iowa City, Iowa: American College Testing Program, 1972.

American College Testing Program. *Using ACT on Campus, 1972-72*. Iowa City, Iowa: American College Testing Program, 1972.

American Council on Education (ACE). *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1971*. ACE Research Reports, 1971, *6* (6).

American Council on Education (ACE). *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1972*. ACE Research Reports, 1972, *7* (5).

American Personnel and Guidance Association. *1973-74 Summary Report*. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1974.

American Psychological Association Task Force. Report on sex bias and sex-role stereotyping in psychotherapeutic practice. *American Psychologist*, 1975, *30* (12), 1169-1175.

Anastasi, A. *Psychological Testing*. New York: Macmillan, 1968.

Anderson, R. P. and Lawlis, G. Strong Vocational Interest Blank and culturally handicapped women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1972, *19* (1), 83-84.

Ansbacher, H. and Ansbacher, R. *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964.

Armour, D. *The American School Counselor*. New York: Russell Sage, 1969.

Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance (AMEG). AMEG Commission report on sex bias in interest measurement. *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance*, 1973, *6* (3), 171-177.

Astin, A.W., King, M.R., Light, J.M. and Richardson, G.T. *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974*. Los Angeles: American Council on Education and the University of California, 1974.

Astin, A.W., Panos, R.J. and Creager, J.A. *National Norms for Entering College Freshmen - Fall 1966*. American Council on Education (ACE) Research Reports, 1967, *2* (1).

Astin, H.S. (Ed.) *Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education*. Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heathland Co., (in press).

Astin, H. S. Young women and their roles. In R.J. Havighurst (Ed.), *Youth*, (Part 1). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975a, pp. 419-434.

Astin, H.S. Women and work. In J. Sherman and F. Denmark (Eds.) *Psychology of Women: Future Directions of Research*. New York: Psychological Dimensions, 1975b.

Astin, H.S., Parelman, A. and Fisher, A. *Sex Roles: A Research Bibliography*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

Astin, H.S., Suniewick, N. and Dweck, S. *Women: A Bibliography on their Education and Careers*. New York: Behavioral Publications, 1974.

Bachman, J.J. *Young Men in High School and Beyond: A Summary of Findings from the Youth in Transition Project*, (Final Report). Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, May 1972.

Backner, B.L. Counseling black students: Any place for whitey? *Journal of Higher Education*, 1970, *41* (7), 630-637.

Baldwin, J. *The Fire Next Time*. New York: Dial Press, 1963.

Bandura, A., Ross, D., and Ross, S.A. Transmission of aggression through imitation of aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1961, *63* (3), 575-582.

Bandura, A. Social-learning theory of identifactory processes. In D.A. Goslin (Ed.) *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969.

Banks, G., Berenson, B. and Carkhuff, E. The effects of counselor race and training upon counseling process with negro clients in initial interview. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 1967, *23*, 70-72.

Barrett, C., Berg, P., Eaton., and Pomeroy, E.L., Implications of women's liberation and the future of psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 1974, II, 11-15.

Barron's Education Services, Inc. *Barron's Profile of American Colleges, Vol. 1: Descriptions of the Colleges*. Woodbury, New York: author, 1973.

Baruch, G.K. Maternal influences upon college women's attitudes toward women and work. *Developmental Psychology*, 1972, *6* (1), 32-37.

Bayer, A.E. The black college freshman: Characteristics and recent trends. *American Council on Education (ACE) Research Reports*, 1972, *7* (3).

Bayer, A.E. and Boruch, R.F. The black student in American colleges. *American Council on Education (ACE) Research Reports*, 1969, *4* (2).

Bem, S.L. and Bem, D.J. On liberating the female student. The School Psychology Digest, 1973, 2 (3), 10-18.

Benjamin, L. Structural analysis of social behavior. Psychological Review, 1974, 81, 392-425.

Berger, C.R. Sex differences related to self-esteem factor structure. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1968, 32 (4), 442-446.

Berman, E. The woman psychiatrist as therapist and academician. Journal of Medical Education, 1972, 47 (11), 890-893.

Bernard, J. Marriage and Family Among Negroes. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Berne, E. Sex in Human Loving. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971.

Berne, E. Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy. New York: Grove Press, 1961.

Bernstein, J. The elementary school: Training ground for sex role stereotypes. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1972, 51 (2), 97-101.

Bickner, M.L. Women at Work: An Annotated Bibliography. Los Angeles: Manpower Research Center, Institute of Industrial Relations, 1974.

Billingsley, A. Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

Bing, E. Effect of childrearing practices on development of differential cognitive abilities. Child Development, 1963, 34, 631-648.

Bingham, W.C. and House, E.W. Counselors' attitudes toward women and work. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1973a, 22, 16-23.

Bingham, W.C. and House, E.W. Counselors view women and work: Accuracy of information. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1973b, 21 (4), 262-268.

Birk, J.M. Interest inventories: A mixed blessing. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1974 (June), 280-286.

Birk, J.M. Reducing sex-bias - Factors affecting the client's view of the use of career interest inventories. In E.E.Diamond (Ed.) Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975, 101-121.

Birk, J.M., Barbanel, L., Brooks, L., Herman, M.H., Juhasz, J.B., Seltzer, R.A., and Tangri, S.S. A content analysis of sexual bias in commonly used psychology textbooks. Journal Supplement Abstract Service, MS. No. 733, 1974.

Birk, J.M., Cooper, J. and Tanney, M.F. Racial and Sex Role Stereotyping in Career Illustrations. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, 1973.

Birk, J.M., Cooper, J., and Tanney, M.F. Stereotyping in Occupational Outlook Handbook Illustrations: A Follow-up Study. Paper presented to the American Psychological Association, Chicago, 1975.

Birk, J.M., and Tanney, M.F. Career Exploration for High School Women: A Model. Paper presented at the National Education Association Conference, November, 1972.

Bisconti, A.S. College graduates and their employers--a national study of career plans and their outcomes. The CPC Foundation Report (no.4). Bethlehem, Penn.: The CPC Foundation, 1975.

Bosmajian, H.A. The language of sexism. ETC: A Review of General Semantics, 1972, 29 (3), 305-313.

Brandenburg, J.B. The needs of women returning to school. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1974, 53 (1), 11-18.

Brindley, F.B. Social factors influencing educational aspiration of black and white girls. Dissertation Abstracts International. Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms, No. 71-1648 (HC, $10; MF, $4).

Broverman, I.K., Broverman, D.M., Clarkson, F.E., Rosenkrantz, P.S. and Vogel, S.R. Sex-role stereotypes and clinical judgements of mental health. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1970, 34 (1), 1-7.

Brooks, L. Interactive effects of sex and status on self-disclosure. Counseling Center Research Report, (No. 12-73). College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland, 1973.

Brown, C. Manchild in the Promised Land. New York: New American Library, Inc., 1966.

Brown, C.R. and Hellinger, M.L. Therapists' attitudes toward women. Journal of Social Work, 1975 (July), 266-270.

Campbell, D.P. Manual for the Strong Vocational Interest Blanks (Revised). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1966.

Campbell, D.P. Women deserve better. The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1973, 51 (8), 545-549.

Campbell, P.B. and McKain, A.E. Intellectual Decline and the Adolescent Woman. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, 1974.

Cannell, C.F. and Kahn, R.L. Interviewing. In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.) The Handbook of Social Psychology. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968.

Carkhuff, R.R. and Pierce, R. Differential effects of therapist race and social class upon patient depth of self-exploration in the initial interview. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1967, 31, 632-634.

Carlson, R. Understanding women: Implications for personality theory and research. Journal of Social Issues. 1972, 28, 17-32.

Carter, C.A. Advantages of being a woman therapist. Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice, 1971, 8, (4), 297-300.

Chesler, P. Patient and partiarch: Women in the psychotherapeutic relationship. In V. Gornick and B.K. Moran (Eds.). Women in Sexist Society, New York: Basic Books. 1971.

Christensen, K.C. and Magoon, T.M. Perceived hierarchy of help-giving sources for two categories of student problems. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1974, 21 (4), 311-314.

Christensen, K.C. and Sedlacek, W.E. Differential faculty attitudes toward blacks, females and students in general. Counseling Center Research Report (#13-72), College Park, MD: University of Maryland, 1972.

Cicourel, A.V. and Kitsuse, J.I. The Educational Decision-Makers, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merril Company, Inc., 1963.

Cohen, M.B. Personal identity and sexual identity. Psychiatry, 1966, 29 (1), 1-14.

Colo, N.S. On measuring vocational interests of women. ACT Research Report, 1972b, 49.

College Entrance Examination Board. Comparative Guidance and Placement Program. Princeton, N.J.: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971.

Collins, A.M. and Sedlacek, W.E. Counselor ratings of male and female clients. Journal of National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, 1974, 37 (3), 128-132.

Committee to Eliminate Sex Discrimination in the Public Schools and the Discrimination in Education Committee of NOW (Ann Arbor Chapter). An Action Proposal to Eliminate Sex Discrimination in the Ann Arbor Public Schools. Pittsburgh, Penn: KNOW, Inc., 1972.

Connell, D.M. and Johnson, J.E. Relationship between sex-role identification and self-esteem in early adolescents. Developmental Psychology, 1970, 3 (2), 268.

Crandall, V.C., Katkovsky, W. and Crandall, V.J. Children's beliefs in their own control of reinforcements in intellectual academic achievement situations. Child Development, 1965, 36, 91-109.

Crandall, V., Dewey, R., Katkovsky, W., and Preston, A. Parents' attitudes and behaviors and grade-school children's academic achievements. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1964, 104, 53-66.

Creager, J.A., Astin, A.W., Boruch, R.F. and Bayer, A.E. National norms for entering college freshmen - Fall 1968 American Council on Education (ACE) Research Reports, 1968, 3 (1).

Cromwell, P.E. Women and Mental Health: A Bibliography. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Cross, K.P. Women want equality in higher education. Research Reporter, 1972, 8 (4), 5-8.

Crow, A. and Crow, L.D. (Eds.) Readings in Guidance: Principles, Practices, Organization, Administration. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1962.

Crow, L.D., and Crow, A. An Introduction to Guidance: Basic Principles and Practices. New York: American Book Company, 1960.

D'Costa, A.G. The role of interests and interest measurement in guidance. Paper presented at the Meeting of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, Las Vegas, 1969.

Department of Public Instruction, State of North Carolina. Elimination of Traditional Sex Stereotypes in Public Schools, Suggested Directions and Strategies. Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Instruction, n.d.

Dewey, C.R. Exploring interests: A non-sexist method. The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1974, 52 (5), 311-315.

Dickerson, K.G. Are female college students influenced by the expectations they perceive their faculty and administration have for them? Journal of National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, 1974, 37 (4), 167-172.

Doherty, M.A. Sexual bias in personality theory. The Counseling Psychologist, 1973, 4 (1), 67-75.

Dorn, D.S. Idealized sex roles among young people. Journal of Human Relations, 1970, 18 (1), 789-797.

Durchholz, P. and O'Connor, J. Why women go back to college. Change, 1973, 5 (8), 52+.

Education Committee. Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools. New York: National Organization for Women, 1973.

Ellis, A. Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1962.

Ellis, A. Techniques for Disputing Irrational Beliefs. New York: Institute for Rational Living, 1975.

Ellis, A. and Harper, A. A New Guide to Rational Living. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

Elman, J., Press, A., and Rosenkrantz, P. Sex-Role Self-Concepts: Real and Ideal. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Miami Beach, Fla., 1970.

Entwisle, D.R. and Greenberger, E. Adolescents' views of women's work role. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1972, 42 (4), 648-656.

Erickson, C.E. (Eds.). A Basic Text for Guidance Workers. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947.

Erikson, E. Childhood and Society. New York: Norton, 1963.

Erikson, E. Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: Norton, 1968.

Erickson, V. L. Psychological growth for women: A cognitive developmental curriculum intervention. Counseling and Values, 1974, 18 (2), 102-116.

Ewing, T. N. Racial similarity of client and counselor and client satisfaction with counseling. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1974, 21 (5), 446-449.

Fabrikant, B. The psychotherapist and the female patient: Perceptions, misperceptions, and change. In V. Franks and V. Burtle (Eds.), Women in Therapy. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1974.

Fabrikant, B., Landau, D., and Rollenhagen, J. Perceived female sex-role attributes and psychotherapist sex-role expectations for female patients. New Jersey Psychologist, 1973, 23, 13-16.

Farmer, H.S. Helping women to resolve the home-career conflict. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1971, 49 (10), 795-801.

Farmer, H.S. and Bohn, M.J., Jr. Home-career conflict reduction and the level of career interest in women. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1970, 17, 228-232.

Feather, N.T. and Simon, J.G. Reactions to male and female success and failure in sex-linked occupations: Impressions of personality, causal attributions, and perceived likelihood of different consequences. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31 (1), 20-31.

Fesbach, N.D. A primer for non-sexism in schools. Draft for Educational Horizons, 1975 (Spring).

Fetters, W.B. Student Questionnaire and Test Results by Sex, High School Program, Ethnic Category, and Father's Education, National Longitudinal Study of High School Class of 1972. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

Flanagan, J.C., Davis, F.B., Dailey, J.T., Shaycoft, M.F., Orr, D.B., Goldberg, F. and Neyman, C.A., Jr. Project TALENT: The American High-School Student. Pittsburgh, Penn: University of Pittsburgh, 1964.

Flanagan, J.C., et al. Project TALENT: Five Years After High School. Palo Alto, CA: American Institute for Research and Pittsburgh, Penn: University of Pittsburgh, 1971.

Frank, A.C., and Kirk, B.A. Differences in outcomes for users and nonusers of university counseling and psychiatric services: A 5-year accountability study. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1975, 22 (3), 252-258.

Franklin, A.J. To be young, gifted and black with inappropriate professional training: A critique of counseling programs. The Counseling Psychologist, 1971, 2, 107-112.

Frazier, N., and Sadker, M. Sexism in School and Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Freeman, J. 1970 Dissent. School Review, 1970, 79 (1), 115-118.

Friedersdorf, W.W. A comparative study of counselor attitudes toward the further educational vocational plans of high school girls. Dissertation and Abstracts International, 1970, 30 (10), 4220-4221. (Abstract). (MF, $3.00, X, $8.00)

Frieze, I. H., Fisher, J. McHugh, M.C., and Valle, V.A. Attributing the Causes of Success and Failure: Internal and External Barriers to Achievement in Women. Draft of paper for conference on New Directions for Research on Women, Madison, Wisconsin, May 30-June 2, 1975.

Friedrich, L.K. and Stein, A.H. Aggressive and prosocial television programs and the natural behavior of preschool children. Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1973, 38 (4).

Gardner, W.E. The differential effects of race, education and experience in helping. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1972, 28, 87-89.

Garman, L.G. and Platt, W.T. Sex Role Stereotypes and Educators' Descriptions of Mature Personalities. Paper presented at the meeting of the Western Psychological Association, San Francisco, April, 1974.

Gazda, G.M. Group Counseling: A Developmental Approach. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971.

Glenn, M.H. Attitudes of women regarding gainful employment of married women. Journal of Home Economics, 1959, 51, 247-252.

Glueck, S. and Glueck, E. Working mothers and delinquency. Mental Hygiene, 1957, 41, 327-352.

Goldberg, P. Are women prejudiced against women? Trans-Action, 1968, 5 (5), 28-30.

Goslin, D.A. Teachers and Testing. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.

Gottfredson, G.D. and Holland, J.L. Vocational choices of men and women: A comparison of predictors from the self-directed search. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1975, 22 (1), 28-34.

Gottsegen, G.B., and Gottsegan, M.G. Women and school psychology. The School Psychology Digest, 1973, 2 (3), 24-27.

Gump, J.P. and Rivers, L.W. The consideration of race in efforts to end sex bias. In E.E. Diamond (Ed.) Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975, 123-139.

Gustad, J.W. The definition of counseling. In R.F. Berdie (Ed.) Roles and Relationships in Counseling. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953.

Hall, C. and Lindzey, G. Theories of Personality. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957.

Hansen, J.C. and Peters, H.J. (Eds.) Vocational Guidance and Career Development: Selected Readings, New York: Macmillan Co., 1971.

Hansen, L.S. We are furious (female) but we can shape our own development. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1972, 51 (2), 87-93.

Harmon, L.W. Strong Vocational Interest Blank profiles of disadvantaged women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1970, *17* (6), 519-521.

Harmon, L.W. The childhood and adolescent career plans of college women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 1971, *1* (1), 45-56.

Harmon, L.W. *Status of Women in Higher Education, 1968-1972: A Selected Bibliography*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Library, 1972.

Harmon, L. ... And soma. The Counseling Psychologist, 1973, *4* (1), 87-89.

Harrison, B.G. *Unlearning the Lie: Sexism in School*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1974.

Harvey, D.W. and Whinfield, R.W. Extending Holland's theory to adult women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 1973, *3* (2), 115-128.

Harway-Herman, M. *Social Perceptions of Women, Stereotypes and Career Determination*. Unpublished Masters' Thesis, University of Maryland, 1971.

Haun, L. E. A study of U.S. counselor educators by sex. *The Commission for Women 1973-1974 Report Summary*. Washington, D.C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1974. p. 4-6.

Hawley, P. Perceptions of male models of femininity related to career choice. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1972, *19* (4), 308-313.

Hawley, P. What women think men think: Does it affect their career choice? *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1971, *18* (3), 193-199.

Heffernon, A. and Bruehl, D. Some effects of race of inexperienced lay counselors on black jr. high school students. *Journal of School Psychology*, 1971, *9*, 35-37.

Heilbrun, A.B., Jr. Parental identification and the patterning of vocational interests in college males and females, *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1969, *16* (4), 342-347.

Heilbrun, A.B., Jr. Female preference for therapist initial interview style as a function of client and therapist social role variables. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1971, *18* (4), 285-291.

Hernandez, D. *Mexican American Challenge to the Sacred Cow*. Los Angeles: Aztlan Publication, 1970.

Hess, R.A. Social class and ethnic influences on socialization. In P.H. Mussen (Ed.) *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*, (Vol. 2). New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970, pp. 457-558.

Hill, C.E. Sex of client and sex and experience level of counselor. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1975, *22* (1), 6-11.

Hill, G.E. Management and Improvement of Guidance. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

Hishiki, P.C. Self-concepts of sixth grade girls of Mexican-American descent. California Journal of Educational Research, 1969, 20 (2), 56-62.

Hoffman, L.W. Early childhood experiences and women's achievement motives. Journal of Social Issues, 1972, 28 (2), 129-155.

Holland, J.L. Some guidelines for reducing systematic biases in the delivery of vocational services. Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance, 1974, 6, 210-218.

Hollender, J. Sex differences in sources of social self-esteem. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1972, 38 (3), 343-347.

Hollis, J.W. and Wantz, R.A. Counselor Education Directory, 1974: Personnel and Programs. Muncie, Indiana: Accelerated Development, Inc., Publication Division, 1974.

Horner, M.S. Toward an understanding of achievement-related conflicts in women. Journal of Social Issues. 1972, 28 (2), 157-175.

Howard, S. Liberating Our Children, Ourselves. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1975.

Hunter, K. Help women plan for the second half. Adult Leadership, 1965, 13 (10), 311+.

Huth, C.M. Measuring women's interests: How useful? The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1973, 51 (8), 539-545.

Iglitzen, L.B. A child's eye view of sex roles. In NEA's Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Schools. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1973. Pp. 23-30.

Jakubowski-Spector, P. Facilitating the growth of women through assertive training. The Counseling Psychologist, 1973, 4 (1), 75-86.

Johansson, C.B. Technical aspects: Problems of scale development, norms, item differences by sex and the rate of change in occupational group characteristics. In E.E. Diamond (Ed.) Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975. Pp. 65-88.

Johansson, C.B. and Harmon, L.W. Strong Vocational Interest Blank: One form or two? Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1972, 19, (5), 404-410.

Johnson, H.S. Motivation and the Mexican-American. In H.S. Johnson and W.J. Hernandez-M (Eds.) Educating the Mexican-American. Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson Press, 1970. Pp. 108-116.

Jones, A.J. Principles of Guidance. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1930.

Jones, A.J. Principles of Guidance (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934.

Jones, H. The Effects of Pre-College Counseling on the Educational and Career Aspirations of Blacks and Women Enrolled at the University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, 1973.

Kagan, J., Hosken, B. and Watson, S. The child's symbolic perception of parental attributes. Child Development, 1961, 32,625-636.

Kaplan, R.M. and Goldman, R.D. Stereotypes of college students toward the average man's and woman's attitudes toward women. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1973, 20 (5), 459-462.

Klein, M.H. Feminists concepts of therapy outcome. Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice, in press, 1975.

Komarovsky, M. Blue Collar Marriage. New York: Random House, 1964.

Kravetz, D.F. Consciousness-raising groups and group therapy: Alternative mental health resources for women. Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice, 1975, in press.

Ladner, J.A. Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971.

Lallas, J.E., Wegner, K.W. and Zeran, F.N. Guidance: Theory and Practice. New York: American Book Company, 1964.

Lambert, W.E., Yackley, A. and Hein, R.N. Child training values of English, French and French-Canadian parents. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 1971, 3, 217-236.

Lasser, B.R. An outcomes-based approach to counseling evaluation. Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance., 1975, 8 (3), 136-144.

Laws, J.L. A feminist view of marital adjustment. In A.S. Gurman and D.G. Rice (Eds.) Couples in Conflict. New York: Aronson, 1975. Pp. 73-123.

Laws, J.L. Work Aspirations in Women: False Leads and New Starts. Draft prepared for Workshop Conference on Occupational Segregation, Wellesley, Mass., 1975.

Lerner, G. (Ed.) Black Women in White America, A Documentary History. New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

Levine, S., Kamin, L., and Levine, E. Sexism and psychiatry. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1974, 44, 327-336.

Levy, B. Sex-role socialization in school. In NEA's Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Schools. Washington, D.C.: National Educational Association, 1973, 1-7.

Lewis, M. Parents and children: Sex-role development. The School Review, 1972, 80 (2), 229-240.

Liebert, R.M., Neale, J.M. and Davidson, E.S. The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth. New York: Pergamon Press, 1973.

Lincoln, M.E. (Ed.) Teaching About Vocational Life. Scranton, PA: International Textbook Company, 1937.

Los Angeles Unified School District. Follow-up Study of Los Angeles City 1973 High School Graduates One Year After Graduation; (Report 346), Los Angeles Unified School District : Research and Evaluation Branch, 1975.

Lyle, J. and Hoffman, H.R. Children's use of television and other media. In E.A. Rubinstein, G.A. Comstock and J.P. Murray (Eds.) Television and Social Behavior, (Reports and Papers IV: Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Maccoby, E.E. and Jacklin, C.N. The Psychology of Sex Differences. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974.

Mackeen, B.A., and Herman, A. Effects of group counseling on self-esteem. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1974, 21 (3), 210-214.

MacLeod, J.S. and Silverman, S.T. You Won't Do. Pittsburgh: KNOW, Inc., 1973.

Maslin, A. and Davis, J.L. Sex-role stereotyping as a factor in mental health standards among counselors-in-training. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1975, 22 (2), 87-91.

Mathewson, R.H. Guidance Policy and Practice. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

McCandless, B.R. Childhood socialization. In D.A. Goslin (Ed.) Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969. Pp. 791-819.

McClelland, D.C., Atkinson, J.R., Clark, R.A. and Lowell, E.L. The Achievement Motive. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

Meltzoff, J. and Kornreich, M. Research in Psychotherapy. New York: Atherton, 1970.

Mezzano, J. Concerns of students and preference for male and female counselors. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1971, 20 (1), 42-47.

Miller, C.H. Foundations of Guidance. New York: Harper and Row, 1961.

Miller, F.W. Guidance Principles and Services. Columbus, Ohio Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1961.

Miller, J. (Ed.) Psychoanalysis and Women: Contributions to New Theory and Therapy. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1973.

Mischel, W. Sex-typing and socialization. In P.H. Mussen (Ed.) Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, (Vol. 2). New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970. Pp. 3-72.

Mitchell, J. Psychoanalysis and Feminism. New York: Vintage, 1974.

Mitchell, J.S. I Can Be Anything: Careers and Colleges for Young Women. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1975.

Mowsesian, R. Educational and career aspirations of high school females. Journal of National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 1972, 35 (2), 65-70.

National Institute of Education (NIE) Career Education Staff. Guideline for assessment of sex bias and sex fairness in career interest inventories. In E.E. Diamond (Ed.) *Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975, pp XXLLL-XXLX, (Available from Educational Work, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 20208).

National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). A national profile of black youth: The class of 1971. *NSSFNS Research Reports*, 1972, *1*(1).

Osipow, S.H. *Theories of Career Development*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Padilla, M. and Aranda, P. *Latino Mental Health*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Peoples, V.Y. and Dell, D.M. Black and white student preferences for counselor roles. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1975, *22* (6), 529-534.

Perez, M.S. *Counseling Services at UCSC: Attitudes and Perspectives of Chicano Students*. Unpublished manuscript, Santa Cruz, Ca., 1975.

Pettigrew, H.F. *A Profile of the Negro American*. Princeton, New Jersey: Van Noss, Publishers, 1964.

Phelps, A.T., Farmer, H.S., and Backer, T.E. *Bibliography on Women at Work*.. New York: Human Science Press, in press, 1976.

Pine, G.J. Evaluating school guidance programs: Retrospect and prospect. *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance*., 1975, *8* (3), 136-144.

Plost, M. Career Media Centers are Shortchanging Today's Girls. Cited in Phelps, A.T., Farmer, A.S., and Backer, T.E. *Bibliography on Women at Work*. New York: Human Science Press, in press, 1976.

Prediger, D.J. Tests and developmental career guidance: The untried relationship. *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance*, 1972, *5*, 426-429.

Pressley, B.O. Survey of guidance and counseling divisions of state departments of education. *The Commission for Women 1973-1974 Report Summary*. Washington, D.C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1974.

Psathas, G. Toward a theory of occupational choice for women. *Sociology and Social Research*. 1968, *52* (2), 253-268.

Putnam, B.A., and Hansen, J. C. Relationship of self-concept and feminine role concept to vocational maturity in young women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1972, *19* (5), 436-440.

Resource Center on Sex Roles. *Today's Changing Roles: An Approach to Non-Sexist Teaching*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1974.

Riccio, A.C. and Zeran, F.R. Organization and Administration of Guidance Services. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1962.

Rice, J., and Rice, D. Implications of the women's liberation movement for psychotherapy. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1973, 130, 191-196.

Rosenberg, B.G. and Sutton-Smith, B. Family interaction effects on masculinity-femininity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 8 (2), 117-120.

Rosenkrantz, P., Vogel, S., Bee , H., Broverman, D.M., and Broverman, I. Sex-role stereotypes and self-concepts in college students. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1968, 32 (3), 287-295.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. Pygmalion in the Classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968.

Saario, T.N., Jacklin, C.N. and Tittle, C.K. Sex role stereotyping in the public schools. Harvard Educational Review, 1973, 43 (3), 386-416.

Sandler, B. Health Services for Women: What Should the University Provide. Washington, D.C.: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1972.

Scher, M. Verbal activity, sex, counselor experience and success in counseling. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1975, 22 (2), 97-101.

Schlossberg, N.K. Liberated counseling: A question mark. Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, 1974, 38 (1), 3-10.

Schlossberg, N.K. and Goodman, J. A woman's place: Children's sex stereotyping of occupations. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1972a, 20 (4), 266-270.

Schlossberg, N.K. and Goodman, J. Imperative for change: Counselor use of the Strong Vocational Interest Blanks. Impact, 1972b, 2 (1), 25-29.

Schlossberg, N.K. and Pietrofesa, J.J. Perspectives on counselors bias: Implications for counselor education. The Counseling Psychologist, 1974. 4 (1), 44-54.

Schneider, J.W. and Hacker, S.L. Sex role imagery and use of the generic "man" in introductory texts: A case in the sociology of sociology. The American Sociologist, 1973, 8, 12-18.

Schramm, W., Lyle, J. and Parker, E.B. Television in the Lives of Our Children. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961.

Sears, P.S. and Feldman, D.H. Teacher interactions with boys and with girls. The National Elementary Principal, 1966, 46 (2), 30-35.

Seifer, N. Absent From the Majority: Working Class Women in America. New York: Institute of Human Relations, 1973.

Shainess, N. A psychiatrist's view: Images of women - past and present, overt and obscured. In R. Morgan (Ed.) Sisterhood is Powerful. New York: Vintage Books, 1970. 230-244

Sharp, W.H. and Kirk, B.A. A longitudinal study of who seeks counseling when. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1974, 21 (1), 43-50.

Shaw, M.C., and White, D.L. The relationship between child-parent identification and academic underachievement. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1965, 21, 10-13.

Shepard, W.O. and Hess, D.T. Attitudes in four age groups toward sex-role division in adult occupations and activities. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1975, 6 (1), 27-39.

Shertzer, B. and Stone, S.C. Fundamentals of Guidance (2nd. ed.). New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1971.

Shoben, E.J., Jr. Guidance: Remedial function of social reconstruction? In R.L. Mosher, R.F. Carle and C.D. Kehas (Eds.) Guidance--An Examination. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965, 110-125.

Smith, C.M. and Roos, M.M. A Guide to Guidance. New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1941.

Smith, M.L. Influence of client sex and ethnic group on counselor judgements. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1974, 21, 516-521.

Sprinthall, N.A. Guidance for Human Growth. New York: Van Nostrand, 1971.

Stein, A.H., and Bailey, M.M. The socialization of achievement orientation in females. Psychological Bulletin, 1973, 80 (5), 345-366.

Stein, A.H. and Smithell, Janis. Age and Sex differences in children's sex-role standards about achievement. Developmental Psychology, 1969, 1 (3), 252-259.

Steiner, C. Scripts People Live. New York: Grove Press, 1974.

Steinmann, A. Women's attitudes towards careers. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1959, Autumn, 15-18.

Steinmann, A. A study of the concept of the feminine role of 51 middle-class American families. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1963, 67, 275-352.

Steinmann, A. Female-role perception as a factor in counseling. Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 1970, Fall, 27-32.

Steinmann, A. and Fox, D.J. Male-female perceptions of the female role in the United States. Journal of Psychology, 1966, 64, 265-276.

Strause, J. *Women and Analysis: Dialogues on Psychoanalytic Views of Feminity*. New York: Dell, 1974.

Suarez, C.C.R. Sexual stereotypes - Psychological and cultural survival. In NEA's *Non-Sexist Education for Survival*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1973, 18-20.

Sue, D.W. and Kirk, B.A. Asian Americans: Use of counseling and psychiatric services on a college campus. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1975, *22* (1), 84-86.

Sue, A. and Kitano, H.L. Stereotypes as a measure of success. *The Journal of Social Issues*, 1973, *29* (2), 83-98.

Tanney, M.F. Face validity of interest measures: Sex-role stereotyping. In E.E. Diamond (Ed.) *Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975.

Thomas, A.H. and Stewart, N.R. Counselor response to female clients with deviate and conforming career goals. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1971, *18* (4), 352-357.

Thompson, B.W. *Tabular Summary of Student Questionnaire Data, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972*, (Vol. I and II). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Thorndike, R.L. (Ed.) *Educational Measurement*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971.

Thorndike, R.L. and Hagen, E. *Measurement and Evaluation in Psychology and Education* (3rd ed.) New York: Wiley, 1969.

Tiedt, I.M. Realistic counseling for high school girls. *The School Counselor*, 1972, *19* (5), 354-356.

Tittle, C.K., McCarthy, K. and Steckler, J.F. *Women and Educational Testing*. Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1974.

Turner, B.F. and McCaffery, J.H. Socialization and a career orientation among black and white college women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 1974, *5* (3), 307-319.

Turner, B.F. and Turner, C. *Race and Sex Differences in Evaluating Women*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, 1974.

Tyler, L. *Work of the Counselor*, (3rd ed.), New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.

Tyler, L. Tests and Measurements (2nd ed.) New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Why Women Work*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

University of California Los Angeles, University Extension. Sounds of Change: A Report on Training in Counseling and Programming for Women's Career Opportunities. Los Angeles: UCLA Extension, 1974.

Vener, A.M. and Snyder, C.A. The preschool child's awareness and anticipation of adult sex-roles. Sociometry, 1966, 29, 159-168.

Vetter, L. Career counseling for women. The Counseling Psychologist, 1973, 4 (1), 54-66.

Vetter, L. Sex Stereotyping in Illustrations in Career Materials. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, September 1975.

Vetter, L., Stockburger, D.W. and Brose, C. Career Guidance Materials: Implications for Women's Career Development. Columbus, Ohio: Center for Vocational Education, Ohio State University, 1974.

Vogel, S.R., Broverman, I.K., Broverman, D.M., Clarkson, F.E., and Rosenkrantz, P.S. Maternal employment and perception of sex roles among college students. Developmental Psychology, 1970, 3 (3), 384-391.

Watley, D.J. Bright black youth: Their educational plans and career aspirations. National Merit Scholarship Corporation Research Report, 1971, 7 (8).

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary. Springfield, Mass.: G and C Merriam, 1974.

Weisstein, N. Kinder and Kiche, Kirche. As scientific law: Psychology constructs the female. In R. Morgan (Ed.) Sisterhood is Powerful. New York: Vintage Books, 1970, Pp. 205-220.

Weisstein, N. Psychology constructs the female. In V. Gornick and B.K. Moran (Eds.) Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Weitzman, L.J., Eifler, D., Hokada E. and Ross, C. Sex-role socialization in picture books for preschool children. American Journal of Sociology, 1972, 77 (6), 1125-1150.

Westervelt, E.M. A tide in the affairs of women: The psychological impact of feminism on educated women. The Counseling Psychologist, 1973, 4 (1), 3-26.

Westervelt, E.M. and Fixter, D.A. Women's Higher and Continuing Education: An Annotated Bibliography with Selected References on Related Aspects of Women's Lives. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971.

White, W. Motivation reconsidered: The concept of competence. Psychological Review, 1959, 66, 297-333.

Whiteley, J. Counselor education. Review of Educational Research. 1969, 30 (2), 173-188.

Whiteley, J. (Ed.) Research in Counseling. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1968.

Whiteley, J., Burkhart, M., Harway-Herman, M. and Whiteley, R. Counseling and student development. Annual Review of Psychology 1975, 26, 337-366.

Whiteley, R. Assertion Training for Women. Unpublished manuscript, 1975.

Whiteley, R. Women in groups. The Counseling Psychologist, 1973, 4 (1), 27-43.

Whitfield, E.A., and Gustav, A. (Eds.) Counseling Girls and Women Over the Life Span. Washington, D.C.: National Vocational Guidance Association/APGA, 1972.

Whitton, M.C. Same-sex and cross-sex reliability and concurrent validity of the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1975, 22 (3), 204-290.

Who's raising the kids? Newsweek Magazine. September 22, 1975, 48-56.

Wilms, W.W. Public and Proprietary Vocational Training: A Study of Effectiveness. Berkeley: Center for Research in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, 1974.

Woellner, E.H. Requirement for Certification for Elementary Schools, Secondary Schools, Junior Colleges. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Wolfe, J.L., and Fodor, I.G. A cognitive/behavioral approach to modifying assertive behavior in women. The Counseling Psychologist, 1975, Vol. V No. 4 (In press).

Women on Words and Images. Channeling Children, Sex Stereotyping in Prime-Time TV. Princeton, N.J.: Women on Words and Images, 1975.

Women on Words and Images. Dick and Jane as Victims. Princeton, N.J.: Women on Words and Images, 1972.

Women's Liberation Center of Nassau County. Women in Society. Hempstead, L.I., New York: The Women's Liberation Center of Nassau County, 1973.

Wrenn, C.G. Crisis in Counseling: An orientation and a contribution. In J.F. McGowan (Ed.) Counselor Development in American Society, Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1968.

Wright, R. Black Boy. New York: Harper, 1937.

Wyckoff, H. The stroke economy in women's scripts. Transactional Analysis Journal, 1971, I (3), 16-20.

Wyckoff, H. Sex role scripting in men and women. In C. Steiner (Ed.) Scripts People Live, New York: Grove Press, 1974a, 165-175.

Wyckoff, H. Banal scripts of women. In C. Steiner (Ed.) Scripts People Live. New York: Grove Press, 1974b, 176-196.

Zigler, E., and Child, I.L. Socialization. In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.) The Handbook of Social Psychology (Vol. III). Reading, Mass.; Addison-Wesley, 1968.

Zytowski, D.G. Toward a theory of career development for women. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1969, 47, 660-664.

Rationale for Selection of Annotation

Annotations were completed on a selective basis only. Criteria for selection were 1) extensive use of a given reference in the text or 2) use in the report of a classic study or research of major importance.